SEPTEMBER, 1937

THE CRISIS

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HITLER, MUSSOLINI AND AFRICA

George Padmore

TOO MUCH OF RACE

Langston Hughes

URBAN HOUSING PROBLEMS

Samuel Lafferty

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Published by

The Robert S. Abbott Publishing Co.
Incorporated

3435 Indiana Avenue :: Chicago, Illinois

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Editor

ADVISORY BOARD

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Volume 44, No. 9 *Whole No. 321*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

Another in the series of articles by George Padmore, dealing with problems in Africa, will appear next month.

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There will be also a piece entitled "How Radical Are College Students?" by Edward Warner Brice.

•

The December issue will be devoted to children and young people. The section which THE CRISIS has devoted annually to babies and small children will have pictures and information as has been our custom for many years. Pictures and material for this section should be in the office of THE CRISIS not later than November 1. The section for young people will be devoted to the activities of the youth councils and college chapters of the N.A.A.C.P.

•

In one of the fall issues will be an article by Ira DeA. Reid; and a piece giving a picture of the situation in Brazil.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

George Padmore is a free lance writer now living in London who has written several articles for THE CRISIS. This is the third of his series on Africa in world politics.

•

Dr. V. V. Oak holds his Ph. D. degree from Clark University in Massachusetts and this fall will become professor in the school of commerce at the North Carolina College for Negroes at Durham, N. C.

•

Paul W. L. Jones is the superintendent of Colored Industrial School in Cincinnati, Ohio. He has contributed several articles on sports to THE CRISIS.

•

G. James Fleming is a member of the staff on the New York Amsterdam News.

•

Samuel Lafferty is a member of the staff of the New Britain Herald of New Britain, Conn.

•

Martin D. Richardson has been connected with the Jacksonville (Fla.) Bulletin and has just finished working in Florida on the Federal Writers Project, collecting material for the American Guide.

•

Langston Hughes is the internationally known poet.

•

Elvena Miller is the director of the Seattle Public Forum.

Hitler, Mussolini and Africa

By George Padmore

THE Italo-Ethiopian War and the demand of Hitler for the return of the former German colonies in Africa has served to focus attention on the question of the "Haves" and "Have Nots" more than at any other time since the Versailles settlement. For as long as Germany was weak and disarmed, the Allied Powers were able to ignore her colonial demands which Stresemann had raised as early as 1926 at the time of Germany's entry into the League of Nations. But with Hitler's repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles and the revival of Germany as a great military power, her colonial demands can no longer be ignored.

It is no exaggeration to say that there never was a period in the history of post-war Europe when the issue of peace or war has been so inseparably bound up with the scramble for colonies in Africa as at the present time.

Not without reason, Lord Salisbury once declared that "Africa has been created to plague Ministers of Foreign Affairs." There is much truth in this, for in the epoch of Imperialism the Colonial Question represents the most important problem for industrialised nations. And precisely for this reason, we find Germany, Italy and Japan, great powers with few or no colonies, demanding a redivision of the world at the expense of England and France, the two powers with the most extensive colonial empires; as well as the Soviet Union, which covers one-sixth of the earth's surface.

The first-named states are sometimes referred to as the "Have-Nots," while the latter powers are considered the "Haves."

With the reopening of the colonial question, Africa is once more being used as a pawn in the European diplomatic game, and as such will undoubtedly influence the new alliances and alignments among the great powers, as she did during the decade prior to the World war. The African problem (Abyssinia) has already given rise to serious political repercussion, unleashing the forces of revolution and counter-revolution in Spain, which in turn has intensified class conflicts on the one hand and imperialist antagonisms on the other, all of which are accelerating the danger of another World War.

The question of so-called over-population as an excuse for siezing and dividing Africa is here examined by Mr. Padmore

Colonies and War

These political events, especially the Abyssinian crisis, have forced large sections of public opinion in Europe and America to realise for the first time the close relationship which the colonial question bears to modern wars. There is no international issue apart from the Versailles settlement which has such propaganda value as the colonial question, with its appeal to "national prestige" and "honour," and in this way everything is being done to arouse in the German and Italian peoples the most reactionary, chauvinistic and militaristic sentiments.

Commenting upon the question "Colonies and Peace," the *Daily Herald*, the mouthpiece of the British Labour Party writes: "What is the colonial problem? Is it economic, or *is it psychological?*" And goes on to say, "Primarily it is not a question of trade, it is a question of prestige, of status. The dangerous tensions are not economic, but psychological. The origin of impending trouble is a sense of inferiority." While there is much truth in this, the fact nevertheless remains that the chief reason for colonies is economic. Capitalists ceaselessly pursue profit and interest. They are more concerned with these concrete assets which colonies represent than such abstract ideas as "prestige." Germany, Italy and Japan need markets, sources of raw materials and spheres for capital investment.

"Italy will not resign herself to the abused commonplace that she is poor in raw materials. It must be said instead that she does not possess certain raw materials. This is a fundamental reason for her colonial demands," thundered Mussolini to the Second National Assembly of Corporations on March 23, 1936. The satisfaction of these economic needs dictates the foreign policy of the Fascist-Imperialists of these countries.

These needs, however, are nothing new. They existed before the World War and arise in the life of every capitalist nation at a particular stage of its industrial development—the stage of imperialism. "The desire to acquire markets and to possess new lands rich in natural resources . . . was also one of the compelling motives of national policy in the case of certain of the great powers of Europe in the closing quarter of the nineteenth century, and in fact, to the very eve of the World War itself."

Expanding Populations

The only new claim which the Fascist dictators have put forward as an additional justification for colonial expansion is the need to find space for their "surplus" populations. And strange to say, it is precisely this question of "over-population" for which the dictators are themselves largely responsible.

Mussolini and Hitler have encouraged the increase of population by every possible means. They have taxed bachelors, offered premiums for large families, and organized mass marriages. The only thing they have not yet done is to nationalise the Italian and German women. This artificial stimulation of population has naturally intensified the problem of unemployment, which every capitalist nation, especially in its period of decline, is permanently confronted with. Therefore, it is sheer humbug on the part of the dictators to be exploiting the question of "over-population" as a means of furthering the economic-imperialist aims of the bourgeoisie. However, because of the dangers involved in this demand for suitable territories for colonization, the issue has to be faced. "For," says Mussolini, "we are hungry for land because we are prolific and intend to remain so." While Alfred Rosenburg, the Nazi racial theoretician and Director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Nazi Party, declares: "Germany demands the right to expand in order to procure sufficient territory for its future 150 million inhabitants. In this great battle for existence of the future—the struggle for honour, freedom and bread . . . people must be forced eastwards, in order to free the territory for German peasants to cultivate. Only thus can there be the possibility for the German people to breathe again."

Italian Philosophy

Let us examine the so-called "over-population" problem as it is supposed

to exist in Italy, before dealing with the economic aspects of the colonial question.

Italy is a country of 121,000 square miles, poor in mineral and agricultural resources, called upon to maintain a population of 42 millions, which increases at the rate of about half a million a year.

Prior to the introduction of rigid immigration restrictions in 1924, about 400,000 Italian workers and peasants went to the U.S.A. annually. Since then, emigration has fallen off considerably, although France and her North African colonies—Tunis and Algeria—as well as Brazil, Argentina and other Latin American republics absorbed several millions until the world economic blizzard burst over those countries.

Today, this safety valve of immigration is more or less definitely closed, and as the years go by unemployment and starvation will increase in Italy. Such a situation will naturally lead to social unrest, which might have the effect of endangering the Fascist regime. So Mussolini resorted to war against Abyssinia in order to distract the attention of the Italian workers from their misery. And now that the Abyssinians have been conquered, the dictator believes that he can solve "overpopulation," that is, unemployment, in that country, despite the fact that Italian colonization in Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland has been a complete failure. What are the facts?

Not more than 25,000 Italians, including some of the very poorest Sicilian peasants, have settled in Libya, which is three times the size of Italy. The truth is that there are six times more Italians living in the French territories of Tunis and Algeria than in all the Italian colonies in Africa. Why is this so? Because, unlike the French North African possessions, the Italian colonies are backward. They are backward precisely because Italy is poor and cannot afford the necessary capital to turn these desert areas into lands suitable for white colonization.

But apart from the poverty of Libya, tropical colonies as a rule offer very few economic opportunities to Europeans as settlers, except people with large amounts of capital, such as the Britons in Kenya, who are drawn from the upper classes—retired colonial officials and ex-army officers. And even they are largely subsidized by grants-in-aid from the British treasury and Kenya government in the form of agricultural bank loans which are saddled upon the native taxpayers. Then there is another problem: that of climate. In this respect, Africa of all continents is the least suitable for white colonization, except in the extreme south (the Union) and north (Tunis, Algeria, Morocco) and the highlands of Kenya and Kilamanjaro. But even in these areas fertile land is limited, and then, the whites are entirely dependent upon black labour.

Colonization Costly

Italian emigrants, unlike the British in Africa, would be drawn from among the poorest of the poor—unemployed workers and land-hungry peasants. Then apart from this, the Italian government has no capital with which to subsidize them. Until recent years the Italian government gave an annual subsidy of 23,000,000 lire to Eritrea, and 42,000,000 lire to Somaliland, but has had to abandon colonization precisely because it was too costly. Even if Mussolini succeeded in borrowing money from bankers in Paris, London or New York to finance his colonization scheme in Abyssinia, he would have to guarantee these countries an "open door" policy in his East Africa "Empire." But this would deprive the Italian capitalists of monpoly. For the only way by which they can compete against their more powerful European, American and Japanese rivals is by pursuing a policy of economic nationalism carried out behind a protective tariff wall and currency manipulation. Mussolini has already instituted such a policy by expelling the well-known British-Indian firm of Mohammed Ali from Abyssinia.

History has shown that no people have ever voluntarily migrated from a country where they enjoyed a higher standard of living to one which offered not only less social and economic opportunities but greater hardship and misery. And this, by the way, has nothing to do with race; it is a question of cultural standards. The Japanese, for example, have had to face the same problem as many European peoples. For years Japan has had control over large colonial possessions in close proximity to the motherland. Nevertheless, the Japanese workers and peasants, whose conditions of life are not very high, judged by Western standards, have not availed themselves in any large numbers of the possibilities of settling in these territories, for the very simple reason that, as bad as their conditions are at home, they are still higher than those of the Koreans, Manchurians and Chinese, with whom they could never hope to compete. It is precisely for this reason that European immigrants, including Italians, Poles and Balkans peoples, whose standards are among the lowest in Europe, have never gone to Africa and Asia. They have always migrated to the Americas—Brazil, Argentine and especially the United States—as well as the more industrialized European countries where they could hope to find employment and better their economic and social conditions. Even the British Dominions offer few inducements to English workers, much less the African colonies.

Let Mussolini proceed. The Italian masses will soon discover that they have been duped. For regardless of the lip service which capitalists, be they Fascist or non-Fascist, give to racial solidarity and national patriotism, they are all after the same goal—superprofits. And this can only be obtained by exploiting the cheapest labour pos-

(*Continued on page 274*)

THE COVER

The four Scottsboro youths who were set free by the court in Decatur, Ala., July 24, when the state dismissed charges against them of raping Victoria Price on a freight train on March 25, 1931, were brought to New York by the chief counsel in their case, Samuel S. Leibowitz.

In the picture on the cover they are shown with Mr. Leibowitz in his luxurious office on the forty-second floor of the Transportation Building, 225 Broadway.

Left to right, they are: Olen Montgomery, Willie Roberson, Mr. Leibowitz, Eugene Williams and Roy Wright. The five other defendants are still in prison. Haywood Patterson and Charlie Weems are under sentences of 75 years: Andy Wright under a sentence of 99 years, and Clarence Norris under a death sentence. Ozie Powell had the rape charge dismissed against him, but he pleaded guilty to assaulting a deputy sheriff wth a knife and was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

The fight for the freedom of the remaining youths is being pushed by the Scottsboro Defense Committeee. Motions for new trials have been made in the Weems, Wright and Norris cases, and papers are being prepared for the taking of the Patterson case to the United States supreme court once more. Lawyers for the committee said that every possible legal move will be made to aid Powell. Headquarters of the Scottsboro Defense Committee are 112 East 19th street, New York City. Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers is chairman and Col. William Jay Schieffelin, treasurer.

Our Aimless Business Education

V. V. Oak

The courses in business education in our colleges are badly in need of reform to fit graduates for a useful place in the Negro business world, says this writer

SINCE Fisk university took the pioneering step of offering business courses under the department of "applied economics" in 1917, more than five hundred students have received bachelors' degrees from the business departments of various Negro colleges. Some of our leaders and successful business men, however, are complaining that most of these graduates are inadequately furnished with business knowledge and that they do not seem to fit in for carrying on their role of replacing the "Amos and Andy" type of Negro business which has received such nation-wide fame over the radio.

To determine the causes of this failure of our young men with so-called business training, a comprehensive study was conducted by the writer between October, 1934 and May, 1937 for the purpose of making a critical evaluation and appraisal of the present status of business education given in Negro colleges. Eighteen institutions fell within the scope of this study. The questionnaire method used to secure statistical data was supplemented by actual visits to all but one of these institutions. Because of limited space in a magazine of this type, the writer will call attention in this article only to those aspects of business education which, in his opinion, stand in urgent need of reform. The phrase "business education" as used in this article means all four-year curricula in business or commerce leading to bachelors' degrees, as well as post-graduate curricula leading to advanced degrees.

In 1935–36, there were seventeen Negro colleges that offered business courses leading to bachelors' degrees and one institution (Atlanta University) that offered only graduate work leading to the master's degree. A study of the business curricula of these eighteen institutions convinces the writer that many of these curricula do not give adequate attention to the present and near future needs of the Negro as a business man. It appears that most institutions have developed their business curricula without placing before them definite objectives. Like "Topsy," these curricula have grown and have been often changed without knowing precisely why changes were made. New courses were added, probably for no other reason than the ambitions of administrators to include in their college programs every course that was offered by any other Negro institution. The wide diversity from college to college in the proportion of cultural and business courses required for graduation and the promiscuous inclusion in their business curricula of "high finance" courses are illustrations of this haphazard development.

Cultural Subjects Required

Following the general trend of some of our outstanding white institutions, Fisk university and Morehouse college emphasize the cultural aspect in their business curricula and require their students to take not more than thirty semester hours in business subjects (including "principles of economics"), leaving the remaining ninety hours for required cultural courses, a minor, and electives.

On the other hand, Tuskegee and Wilberforce require their business students to take 100 and 91⅓ semester hours respectively in business subjects alone. Hampton, West Virginia State college, Florida A. & M. college, State A. & M. college (S. C.), and North Carolina College for Negroes also require their business students to take a considerable amount of work in business, varying between 72 and 82 semester hours. Such heavy concentration in a student's major field may end in turning out business men who may prove reasonably efficient in their profession, but who will be ignorant of everything else.

On a close examination of the average graduate of the business department of an institution which over-emphasizes the vocational aspect of its general business curriculum, one may find that instead of acquiring sound knowledge in business principles, the student has ended in owning an inflated head which is carrying a vocabulary of high-sounding financial words and phrases without proper understanding of their significance.

The general business curricula offered by the last seven institutions referred to in the preceding paragraph and by Samuel Huston college, Clark university, and Virginia State college include some such courses of a secondary school level as "elementary typewriting," "beginner's shorthand," and "office methods." In most institutions, the course in so-called "business finance" is actually a high school course with a falsified name as its content is similar to that of the course in "business arithmetic" commonly given in high schools. Since the primary objectives of these institutions is to train the student for small business enterprises, no one can rationally object to the inclusion of such subjects in their programs. One cannot, however, justify the labelling of these courses as collegiate and giving college credit for them merely because they are offered by a college and are needed by students taking collegiate work.

Teachers Lack Experience

The business teachers in many institutions lack not only academic training, but experience as well. The eighteen institutions offering business curricula had in their business departments a total teaching staff of forty-seven full-time and seven part-time men and women. Four of the total fifty-four teachers had no degrees of any kind. Twenty-one teachers had no education beyond their baccalaureate degrees, and twelve of these had secured these degrees from Negro institutions. Of these twelve degrees, seven were secured from the very institutions in which these teachers were employed. It may be seriously questioned whether teachers with meager training and experience should be permitted to teach (as is actually done by many colleges) such advanced courses as "cost accounting," "investments," "advanced mathematics of finance," "banking procedure," and "income tax accounting." Such courses are more appropriate for graduate schools having strong faculties.

It is preposterous to say that Negro institutions can offer such courses as efficiently as some well-known and well-endowed or state-supported white institutions. Students anxious to secure specialized knowledge in "high finance" should, therefore, go to recognized graduate schools. Some of our institutions would do well to concentrate their attention on commercial teacher training and secretarial training only, as is done by Tennessee A. & I. State

Teachers college and Langston university, and leave the more pretentious program of a general business education to those Negro colleges that are capable of offering well-balanced curricula because of strong faculties and adequate financial support.

In many cases, the salaries of business teachers are entirely inadequate to maintain a proper standard of living and level of scholarship expected of teachers. In a few cases, the teaching load is also as high as thirty hours a week. The administrators of Negro Colleges, therefore, need to secure not only well-trained and experienced teachers, but must learn to pay decent salaries. It is hard to secure good teachers in professional schools; for the best ones will generally, and quite naturally, find it more profitable to carry on their own profession independently. One way to off-set this disadvantage is to offer good salaries to those who prefer to remain educators in their profession, and supplement this group by inviting successful business men and women to give occasional lectures in the fields of their specialization.

Every effort should be made to retain good teachers by providing respectable living accommodations and research facilities. Only six of the eighteen institutions had provided office space for the heads of their business departments. Half of the departmental heads were staying in poorly-equipped quarters supplied by the institutions they were serving. In four cases, these accommodations were so far below the professional standard that the writer marvelled as to how these teachers were able to keep a cheerful front. As a natural result of this situation, the quality of work offered by these teachers suffered heavily. In some cases, the depressing atmosphere surrounding the teachers and their own lack of vision helped to create in them a disdainful attitude towards research.

Negro institutions do not seem to be doing anything to improve the poor conditions of Negro business in their own neighborhoods. Instead, the unbusinesslike way in which some of our institutions deal with their students, teachers, and visitors often gives wrong training to all those who have the misfortune to come into contact with them. The writer has had no end of trouble in securing data from two heads of business administration departments even though these heads were drawing very comfortable salaries, had as much free clerical service as they desired to have, and were carrying a subnormal teaching-load of ten hours or less a week.

Enrollment Rivalry

The wholesale admission of large number of ill-trained and improperly qualified students in the various departments of our colleges and the policy of our administrations to keep them in their own colleges at any cost for the quantitative glamor attached to large enrollments are partly responsible for the poor showing of our business graduates. There seems to be feeling among educators and students that if students are not capable of doing advanced work in any liberal arts division of the college, they should be sent for business education. Of course, mechanical skill like typewriting can be secured without the need of normal intelligence, but business education does not consist of mere mechanical skills alone. It is failure to recognize this fact that has led too many students of the wrong type to take business courses.

Even a skilled carpenter with bad tools and poor material with which to work cannot possibly be expected to turn out a good job. The writer knows of several instances in which institutions for Negroes have admitted students by the "backdoor", allowed them to register as late as eight or nine weeks after the school has opened its regular work, and offered them special courses which often the teacher himself admitted that he did not know how to teach. In the mad rush for quantitative competition, quality is completely sacrificed. In such instances, a teacher dares not fail too many students lest it create the impression that he is a poor teacher and thereby endanger his job. To please everybody, he arranges his grade-sheet so as to conform to the so-called normal curve. This naturally forces him to rank his students on their relative ranking in the same class-room. Hence, if a student is able to maintain an average of seventy points out of a possible hundred, he is rated as an "A" class student if no other student in his class excels this average. His name then goes on the honor roll, and he leaves the institution with an inflated head that does him no good when he faces this work-a-day world. More than likely, on the basis of this so-called honor roll, if not through political pull, he will end his career as teacher in one of our public school systems. While it is true that the lamentable showing of the average Negro college freshman is often due to the poor educational background that he has received in the segregated elementary and secondary school which he has been forced to attend, the writer feels that many of our Negro colleges have helped to perpetuate this vicious condition by turning out graduates entirely unfitted to carry on their responsibilities as teachers.

Suggestions to Colleges

Before closing this article, the writter ventures to make the following specific recommendations to educators and business men interested in improving Negro education in general and business education in particular.

(1) Negro educators and leaders must realize, under our present economic organization, the Negro had no opportunity in the near future as an "entrepreneur" or undertaker in industries like iron and steel, meat-packing, public utilities, tire and rubber, textiles, mining, lumbering, and automobile, all of which invariably require huge capital, skilled labor-supply, and specialized knowledge of management, and that his main chance of success in business are limited to retail business in necessities, manufacture of cosmetics (suited to the special needs of the Negro), beauty parlors, real estate, printing and newspapers, theatres, insurance (mainly life and industrial), and other similar enterprises.

Because of these limitations in business opportunities, the Negro college should place in the forefront the following four major objectives in the organization of its business curricula: (a) a broad educational background; (b) a sound knowledge of fundamental business principles, procedures, and problems; (c) the ability to organize, conduct, and manage efficiently and successfully business enterprises in which Negroes are likely to find opportunities; and (d) the preparation of students capable of holding positions as managers, salesmen, and clerks in stores and offices owned bv whites, but mainly dependent upon the support of Negroes for their success. In order to carry out the first major objective here, the first two years of the college should be devoted mainly to general or cultural education.

(2) The status of the present business departments should be improved by securing well-trained men to take their profession seriously; by close cooperation with other Negro institutions in the vicinity instead of by cut-throat and often unethical, competition; by abolishing all courses and departments that cannot be justified on the ground of need, sound economics, or social efficiency; by starting research studies that would help the present Negro business to improve its status; and by other similar improvements.

(3) One of the greatest problems facing administrative officers in Negro colleges is the large number of faithful teachers who have been with the institution for a long time, but a great many of whom are, nevertheless incapable of

(*Continued on page 277*)

The Greatest Negro Harness Horse Owner

By Paul W. L. Jones

Peter Lee Hensley, of Kentucky, was the foremost Negro harness horseman in America and was a leading figure on the circuits for more than thirty years

HARNESS horse racing is often called "the aristocrat's sport" because in the early days of the pastime most of the fast record trotters and pacers were owned by American gentlemen of great wealth and high social standing, and because today the cream of the best performers is owned by men who count their dollars by the ten thousands. Almost every county fair in the country schedules two or three harness horse races daily, and the Grand Circuit, with its big stakes and purses, attracts the best trotters and pacers breeders and trainers annually bring forth.

From the beginning of harness horse racing in the United States, down to the present time, Negroes have been identified with the sport as grooms, trainers and drivers, and now and then, here and there, as owners and breeders. Harness horse history says that the immortal trotting queen *Goldsmith Maid 2:14* was broken to bit, bridle and saddle in 1863, when six years old, by Sam "Decker", a young Negro employed as a farm hand by her breeder. It was Sam who discovered her remarkable speed when he rode her on turnpikes in and about Deckertown, New Jersey. *Little Brown Jug 2:11¾*, one of the early pacing marvels, as a youngster, was owned, broken to harness and worked as a plow horse by a Negro in East Tennessee. Followers of the sport well remember the great colt developer Ed Willis, who gave *Miss Stokes 2:08¾* and *Peter Volo 2:02* their first trotting lessons and drove both to the world's yearling record; Harvey Taylor who piloted *Silverone* to a two-year old record of 2:26¼ in 1884; John Redd who trained such fast performers as *Cut Glass, Isola's Worthy* and *Anna Bradford's Girl;* Perry Johnson who won fame as a race driver in the late nineties, and Henry Keyes who held the reins over many promising youngsters on famous trotting nurseries around Lexington, Kentucky.

But the greatest Negro harness horse lover was Peter Lee Hensley, who owned, bred and raced more trotters and pacers than any man of his race in the world. He was a native of Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, where he was born September 30, 1858. His parents were Howard and Margaret (Magowan) Hensley, poor but highly respected citizens of his birthplace. At the early age of fourteen, Peter became a transfer wagon driver, and, being thrifty, soon bought a horse and dray and entered the hauling business for himself. Success crowned his labors, and at nineteen he began operating a grocery and restaurant, but continued his transfer business with his father and brother as draymen. A few years later he became the owner of his first trotter.

PETER L. HENSLEY

Temple Bar a Sensation

Hensley began the horse breeding business with *Clay Patchen*, a beautiful chestnut trotting-bred stallion that attracted attention wherever he was shown. In 1896 he sold *Clay Patchen*, and, in New York City, purchased the trotting stallion *Temple Bar 2:17¾*, whose performances created a sensation in the early nineties. *Temple Bar* won twenty-four out of twenty-five races, including the $10,000 Merchants and Manufacturers Stake at Detroit. The horse was expelled from Grand Circuit tracks because of the "trick" work of his driver and owner during a race at Cleveland, Ohio, July 29, 1891. The race was the Stallion Stakes, and *Temple Bar* won after five heats were trotted, beating some of the best horses of his day. *Temple Bar's* expulsion retired him to stud, and he sired twelve trotters and ten pacers with standard records, among them *Parker S 2:06½* and *Iron Bar 2:11¾*. He was the sire of the dams of *Todd Temple 2:09½* and *Ruby K (pacing) 2:06¼*. Hensley kept *Temple Bar* until the horse's death in 1909.

In 1899 Hensley bought the stallion *Alcyo* with a pacing record of 2:10. *Alcyo* was a great race horse in his day, at one time winning seventeen consecutive races. Under Mr. Hensley's ownership he was mated with well bred mares, and his get include such good ones as *Frank S 2:08, Pete 2:08¼, Colonel O 2:08½, Lucile Brooks 2:09, Albert O 2:12½* (all pacers) and *Arzilla* with a trotting record of 2:11¼, and nineteen others with records of 2:30 and better. *Alcyo* died in September, 1913.

At the Madison Square Garden Sales, in New York City, in 1911, Hensley purchased the famous trotting stallion *Prince of India 2:13¼*. This horse was raced several years and was often returned a winner. He was timed in 2:10, at Lexington, Kentucky, in the Transylvania Stake. In the stud he did well, siring *Prince of Orange 2:06½, Fair Maiden 2:07, Reusens 2:07¼, Stainless 2:08¼, Unstained 2:08¼, Alice Duryea 2:10*, and nineteen others in the 2:30 list. A few years prior to 1911, $20,000 was refused for *Prince of India*.

Mr. Hensley also owned the stallions *Happy Todd, Judge Barr* and *Colonel O (pacing) 2:08¼*. At one time he had six stallions in service. He bred *Colonel O 2:08¼, Pete 2:08¼, Lucile Brooks 2:09* and *Albert O 2:12¼*. All these were pacers, and all were the get of *Alcyo*. Hensley raced *Albert O* at Kentucky fairs, winning some of the leading class events, among them the 2:25 pace at the Kentcky State Fair, Louisville, September 15, 1911, the best time being 2:20. *Albert O* took his record of 2:12½ in the third heat of the Free-for-all Pace, at the Montgomery County Fair, Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, July 25, 1912. He won the race, taking the last three heats. The same season he was in the money in

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Figures Is His Business

By G. James Fleming

IT'S figures, figures everywhere when you step into the office of Charles E. Hall in the Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce: figures on the Negro population, on the number of Negro-operated retail stores, on the birthrate of Negroes and whites, on the sex distribution of the race, on illiteracy, on interstate migration, on the condition of the Negro farmer, on Negro prison inmates—on nearly anything you can think of.

And the man behind the figures is the "senior specialist on Negro statistics," who for over thirty-seven years has been helping Uncle Sam to keep track of his multitudinous family and his ever-growing business affairs.

Charles E. Hall got his title from the New Deal, but the work he has been doing has gone on under both Republican and Democratic parties, and his interests and duties are not limited to the Negro. In 1930, he was supervisor of the United States Census of Distribution and Manufacturing for the Eighth (Chicago) District; in 1916 he made a survey in northern industrial centers for the Department of Labor, and in 1905, he made a study of the "Clay Products of the United States" for the Manufacturers Division of the Census Bureau.

Based on his findings, the *Scientific American* carried a full-page story about the whys and wherefores of the clay business, and several magazines and industrial papers have since used his studies and have turned to him for facts and figures on numerous subjects. At the present time, there is not a day that the mail does not bring a batch of letters from college professors, secretaries to governors, high school teachers, editors, and just folk asking him for light on some subject concerning the Negro. A few months ago, the work he is now doing got an additional boost when the March of Time broadcast a sketch about him, quoting him as authority for the claim that "while Negroes are increasing numerically, they are decreasing proportionately."

Hopes for Successors

Happy as Mr. Hall is over the fact that his long years have not been limited just to "Negro affairs," he is happier still that he has had the opportunity to help Uncle Sam and America become increasingly acquainted with its Negro population. His burning passion right now is that out of the large number of Negro college graduates there will be someone who will be attracted to follow in his footsteps, and in the footsteps of men like Robert A. Pelham and William Jennifer, who has also worked in the census bureau in similar capacity.

Since this article was written Mr. Hall has been appointed as adviser of Negro Affairs in the Department of Commerce, the position left vacant by the resignation of Eugene Kinckle Jones

CHARLES E. HALL

But whoever is attracted to Mr. Hall's job must have a flare for anonymity and unwavering enthusiasm for hard work. As a member of the Census Bureau, he will be just a wheel in the extensive machinery which goes to make up the Commerce Department, and his usefulness and his opportunities will be helped or hindered by the kind of man who heads up both the Census Bureau and its parent department. There may be some recognition coming to this man from the headlines, but his only sure reward is that he is in position to do a remarkably important job for his people and his government, and that, here and there, he will get an idea adopted which will bring still greater respect and recognition for Negroes.

Reminded that Negroes are finding it increasingly difficult to get into the Civil Service and to work themselves up, Mr. Hall declared himself an optimist. The very work he is doing keeps him "optimistic and hopeful about the Negro," he says.

"When you have seen illiteracy among Negroes decrease from 81.4 per cent in 1870 to 16.3 per cent in 1930, you can't help being hopeful," he declared. "I have also seen Negroes get into our colleges and do all the things we once used to hear the Negro mind could never accomplish."

Cites Successful Men

"I know a Negro in New Hampshire who specializes in shipping apples to the foreign market," he continued. "I know another who manufactures orange blossom perfume; I know still another who is the head assayer in a watch manufacturing company. Then there is a community of Negroes who are great wheat raisers, a Negro who operates violet farms, and one with a large horse ranch.

"All of these are in businesses we do not usually associate with Negroes and they are doing well and giving the lie to the contention that Negroes cannot succeed in business. I also know that there are about one hundred and thirty wholesale importers and exporters who have overcome all the obstacles and lived through all the vicissitudes of general economic competition and 'Negro business'."

All these examples of Negroes who have weathered all storms keep Mr. Hall a hopeful man and he expects that Negroes will continue to play their part on the various fronts of government, despite the occasional obstacles that will turn up.

"But Negroes will always have to think and plan so as to advance themselves as much as possible on their own power," he maintains. "The days are passing when Negroes can wait until a

(*Continued on page* 285)

The Housing Problem of the Urban Negro

By Samuel Lafferty

A major economic and health problem for urban Negroes is housing, this writer finds, and cites some startling figures

OF all the economic problems which beset the Negro population in the United States housing is the most vital; for it is this problem which, in large measure, determines the course of the Negro in his relation to the programs which are occupying the attention of American thinkers.

Statistics show the economic status of the Negro has improved immeasurably during the last half-century and his purchasing power has made steady advance, but despite this the fact remains that the economic condition of the Negro is far below that of other American groups.

The distribution of America's Negro population is a determining factor in the type of occupation in which he is engaged. Living, as he has, in the vast stretches of the South, it is natural he would be engaged in agricultural pursuits. It follows that the majority of Negro workers have had that type of training.

Before 1910, the proportion of Negroes living in the North was comparatively small and the industrialization of the South had scarce begun. Skilled Negro labor was practically nil.

But 1915 witnessed a mass migration from farm to urban and industrial centers. In consequence there arose necessity for a changed economic system to fit in with the new environment. The change in the residence factor can best be appreciated by a glance at the figures. In 1890 there were 1,500,000 urban Negroes and now half our Negro population is urbanized.

The exodus from the South was given impetus by the World War demand for man-power in northern industrial centers. The migration which followed proved one of the greatest mass movements in our history. Southern leaders, cognizant of the negira's implications, futilely adopted repressive measures to halt emigration of their cheap labor supply. Force was used in preventing the Negro from leaving his home surroundings. In some instances Negroes were lynched for "breach of contract."[1] Interference with Northern labor agents continued vain and in the two decades from 1910 to 1930 the Negro population of the North leaped from 1,000,000 to 2,500,000.

Naturally this migration was toward industrial centers east of the Mississippi and north of the Mason-Dixon line, where need for workers was most acute.

But though northern manufacturers lured the Negro here to obtain cheap labor they could not make the white worker "love him like a brother" once he arrived. White workers resent the intrusion and the underbidding of black labor. "The Negro finds the North less of a haven than he anticipated. Residential segregation and high rents,[2] racial discrimination and social ostracism were found characteristic of the North as well as the South."[3]

Rents Forced Up

The shortage of houses in sections reserved for Negroes forced newcomers to bid for houses in white residential sections. An increase in rents naturally followed and the effect of the high rent was not only felt by the Negro but also by the whites.

In Washington, East Saint Louis, and Chicago race riots, which were to a large degree caused by competition between Negroes and whites for jobs and houses, the Negro masses demonstrated they would meet violence with violence.

In Elizabeth Hughes's study of small wage earners in Chicago in 1925 she found:[4]

"As a group Negroes are paying more for shelter than other classes in the community."

A survey of the same problem in Richmond, Lynchburg, and Charlottesville, Va.[5] showed "the density of the Negro sections was forty-six persons per acre as compared with eleven per acre in the white areas. In some sections of the Negro areas the density reached seventy-eight persons per acre."

In New York city twenty per cent of the Negro families studied lived in cold water flats, and more than half of these had no baths. Those who did have bathrooms frequently couldn't use the bath tub because it was in need of repair.

I might quote in confirmation of this, statistics gathered in Hartford regarding the longevity and health of Negroes in that city. Similar findings are reported in other cities where studies have been made.

Shorter Life Expectancy

In Hartford the average life of the Negro is twenty years shorter than that of white men in the same community.[6]

Discussing the problem, Frank T. Simpson, associate secretary of the North End Federated clubs of Hartford, said: "We Negroes believe that better housing is an absolute necessity for the improvement of health in the northern end.

"It is definitely found by medical research that the Negro is no more susceptible to disease than any other group. Given the same environment and the enjoyment of the same facilities, the Negro will live as long as any other racal group."[7]

The Hartford Department of Health is authority for the statement that the Negro tuberculosis death rate in Hartford last year was nine times greater than the white death rate.

The Negro rate was 287.66 per 100,000 population, as compared with the white rate of 31.08 per 100,000.

Listing the comparative statistics to show the higher death rate for other diseases and the greater infant mortality rate, the department asserts:

"Our Negro population offers a challenge to the entire city. Fundamental factors such as housing and nutrition must be improved before the Negroes can be expected to form habits conducive to health."

The Negro death rate for syphilis in 1936 was approximately 23 times greater than for the white race: whites, 6.91; Negroes, 136.26; per 100,000.

Total death rate for Negroes was 16.80 per 1,000 as compared with the white rate of 9.44. The average age at death for Negro males was 35.8 as

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[1] Gilmour, Austin, *Vanity Fair*, February, 1936, "Mob Murder."

[2] See attached comparative table of rents paid by Negroes and whites for the same apartments.

[3] Spero, Sterling B., and Harris, Abram L., *"The Black Worker, The Negro and the Labor Movement,"* Columbia University Press, New York, 1931.

[4] Hughes, Elizabeth, *"The Negro In American Civilization,"* 1925.

[5] Knight, Elizabeth, *"Negro Housing in Certain Virginia Cities,"* 1927.

[6] Hart, Rev. Hornell, Hartford Theological Seminary, address to the 1937 Connecticut Convention of Christian Endeavor societies, Hartford, May 3, 1937.

[7] *Hartford Courant*, April 6, 1937.

against 54.9 for white males. The average age at death for Negro females was 40.8 years, as compared with 59.5 for white females.

The pneumonia death rate for Negroes was 151.4 as compared with 87.5 per 100,00, the white race.

Among Negroes the infant mortality rate was 21.80 per 100 live births, as against 13.08 in the white group.

The Negro birth rate was 21.08 per 1,000, as compared with the white rate of 13.08.[8]

In spite of the ghastly sanitary conditions, rents in Negro areas remain high. During the past few months, there have been definite moves on the part of landlords to increase rents in Harlem to the pre-depression level. The worst days of the depression brought a decrease in rents generally, but, it is significant to note that the reduction in Harlem was not as great as that for the cty as a whole. It seems that not even a great economic crisis can upset the age-old condition of high rents for Negroes.

Harlem Rents

With the first signs of recovery, however, rents are being raised in a number of Harlem buildings. The increases range from $5 to $10 on each apartment. Apartments, usually four rooms and in many cases three rooms, which were renting for $35 and $40 monthly during the depression are now renting for $45 a month, or, in other words, at more than $10 per room. Similarly, apartments which rented for $50 and $60 have had increases of from $5 to $10 per month. In order to erase any doubts that may arise as to the reliability of these facts the following actual cases are listed by the Consolidated Tenants' League, Inc., an agency to which I was referred in my search for data:

55–57 West 139th street; 238 West 112th street; 257 West 128th street; 1380 Fifth avenue; 3–5 West 122nd street; 148 West 129th street; 463 West 163rd street; 251 West 129th street; 1382 Fifth avenue; 263 West 137th street; 261 West 153rd street; 236 West 142nd street; all in Manhattan.

In a number of old-law tenements, the average rental is $25 per month. Buildings offering such a rental are not merely old; they are obsolete. Thus, this comparatively low rental carries with it tolerance of disgracefully unsanitary conditions and inadequate housing facilities. Consequently, Negroes are faced with the problem of living in houses offering average housing facilities at exorbitant rents or of seeking

[8] Department of Health *Report*, March 27, 1937.

Liberty Square, PWA low-rent housing project opened recently in Miami, Fla.

accommodations in buildings which should be demolished, at rentals commensurate with incomes. There are blocks of dilapidated houses in Harlem in which *Negroes pay as high as 94 per cent of their income for rent.* Further, many of these families obtain a part of their income from relief. In the light of this fact, it is quite evident that there can be no adequate provision for other necessities—food, clothing, education of the young and the like. White families in New York on a similar income level seldom pay more than one-fourth of their income for rent. That the Negro pays a higher percentage of his income for rent is as unchallengeable now as it was in 1905, for example, for then as now Negroes were at a great disadvantage in obtaining desirable housing conditions at a reasonable rental figure.

The reasons given by the landlords for the increased rents are that maintenance costs have increased and the upward trend in business has resulted in increased employment. Consequently, they must raise rents in order to share in the coming prosperity. Some landlords have set forth what appears to be a reasonable argument. They claim tenants are usually one or two months behind in their rental payments and thus they find it increasingly difficult to meet interest payments on mortgages and the like. The latter strikes indirectly at the core of the housing problem, especially where the Negro is concerned. Landlord versus tenant is merely one of the phases of the housing problem. It is admitted that the shortage of decent housing facilities has had an unfavorable effect on rent scales for the tenant. Full blame cannot be cast upon any one group, but until low-rent housing can be effected on a large scale, high rents for inadequate housing facilities will continue to be the Negro's most pressing problem.

Appreciate Good Housing

A glance at the Negro section of any city prompts the immediate question, "if these people were given decent places in which to live how long would it take them to run them into tenement ruins?"

For our answer we must turn to Miami where 1,000 Negroes are taking up residence in the $1,000,000 project built with PWA funds and presided over by college-educated James E. Scott. There are 243 group houses of two, three, four and five rooms.

Each home has a refrigerator and a stove. Rental rates range from $2.85 weekly for the two-room units to $5.25 weekly for the five-room homes.

The tenant must have an income three times the amount of his rent and not more than five times that sum. This keeps the tenant from paying too

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RENTS PAID BY NEGROES AND WHITES

Number of Rooms	White Rental	Negro Rental	When Raised
3	$22	$42	1926
5	35	55	1925
5	40	60	1926
4	27	32	1926
6	50	90	1925

A Picture of Florida's Schools

By Martin D. Richardson and LeRoy M. Washington

A SURPRISINGLY large number of the one-half million Negroes in Florida eagerly watched developments in the fight surrounding the Harrison-Black-Fletcher bill, which will appropriate millions of dollars in federal funds to the states for education, to be administered by the state authorities.

Not that numbers of Florida Negroes are generally interested in political activities. Unfortunately this is not true. But it is true that any Negro who has lived in Florida for any extended period, and who has come into contact with its most viciously unequal, prejudiced and inhumanly unfair public school system is intensely interested in learning whether the same school authorities who now deny Florida Negro children even the most elemental chances at an education are going to be given additional federal funds with free rein as to how much of these funds they will be permitted to deny to Negroes.

To understand the interest of Florida Negroes in any bill that would provide money for public education (without stipulating that its apportionment must be done by some agency other than the unfair school officials of southern states like Florida) it is necessary to know that the Florida Negro realizes that the money spent on the public education of all children in Florida is just about one-half of the average for the country, add that the money spent in Florida for Negro public education is just one-sixth of the general state average. This means to the Florida Negro that roughly one-twelfth as much money is spent to educate his child as is spent on the average child in the country. In appreciating the fact that the country needs some bill that would provide federal money for public education, he realizes at once that his individual need is twelve times as great.

Imagine, if you can, a state where Negroes constitute nearly one-third of the population, and where the total value of public school property for whites is sixteen times as great as that for Negro children. Should you be able to grasp this, it will be easier for you to believe that in seven of Florida's 67 counties the total value of public school property for Negroes is less than one per cent of the whole; that in one-half of the state's counties, 33, the total value of public school property for Negroes is less than five per cent and that in only nine counties does it reach even the proportion of ten per cent.

The Harrison-Black-Fletcher bill to give federal funds to the states to aid education failed to pass this Congress, but undoubtedly will be revived in the next session. This article, showing inequalities in Florida, graphically pictures why Negroes wish the federal government to direct the spending of this money in the states

70 Millions to 5 Millions

The assessed valuation of the buildings in which Negroes attend public school in Florida, however, is not a correct index of the types of school buildings a generous state and its liberal counties give their colored children. Consider, for instance, the fact that there are 1,494 school buildings for white children in the state, with an assessed valuation of seventy million dollars. The 1,029 buildings for Negroes have cost the good folk who spend education money only five million. If the white school buildings are such that several local politicians are elected each year by promising to improve them, imagine the shacks the Negroes must go to school in!

Of course, there is no better person to describe these palatial centers of education than the white, southern, state agent of Negro education. Says this authority:

"Six hundred sixty-four of the buildings for Negroes are owned by the counties; three hundred forty-one are not owned by the counties. Churches, lodges and shacks comprise the latter group, while many of the group owned by the counties are inadequate for school purposes. . . . In a few South Florida counties and in most of the counties in North Florida Negro schools in these shacks, lodges, churches, etc., have no toilets, water supply, desks, blackboards, etc. . . . Counties use these schools as a means to get state funds. . . ."

This state agent, incidentally, issued a statement at the end of 1934 that told just how many Negro schools there were without water supply or toilets. It was evidently unpopular with his fellow officials, because it did not reappear when the new state report on education was issued in 1937. However, the figures in 1937 will prove little better, if any, than those of the former report, since there has been little school construction for Negroes going on. In the earlier report there were 412 Negro schools in the state without water; 127 had no toilets.

4,000 Negroes; No School

This, naturally, is blamed on the counties. But then, the counties can take the blame for a number of other things, too. For example, three counties have no Negro school buildings at all. These counties have a combined population of nearly 4,000 Negroes. Even with school buildings donated by the Negroes themselves, two counties have only one Negro school each.

Madison county, just to select one, has forty-one Negro schools, but owns only eleven school buildings. Thirty of the forty-one schools have no water supply; seventeen have no toilets. Liberty county, at the time of the last biennial report before the current one, had 12 Negro schools, of which the county owned six. Ten of the schools, however, had neither water supply nor toilets. (Eleven of them were one-teacher schools, and one was two-teacher.)

You might be led to assume that the serious sanitation and health problems brought about by the callous indifference of Florida school authorities to such fundamental needs as toilets and water would be offset by vigorous state health campaigns in the schools. This is just another idle thought; of more than seventy-five thousand dollars spent in the state on health and health education in the public schools in the two years ending June 30, 1936, Liberty and Madison counties did not spend *five cents* on Negroes for this purpose.

These Florida counties offer some interesting sidelights on the matter of per capita instruction costs in the state, too. The state average is far from equitable; it is some forty dollars per capita for whites and fourteen dollars for Negroes. But there seems to be some sort of friendly rivalry between counties to ascertain which can best lower the state figures. In ten of them

we find that the per capita cost for Negro education is less than ten dollars; Union county has a Negro per capita of just five dollars and fifty-three cents, and in Jefferson county, with a white per capita of sixty-three dollars, the Negro figure is less than eight dollars. It is well to remember that in the last named county the Negro population is *sixty-eight per cent of the total.*

Most of the counties are justly proud of Florida's good (convict-built) roads, but the Negro school children in the state seldom get an opportunity to see how it feels to ride over them. Out of the huge appropriation annually for bus transportation in the various counties, one child out of every seventy who ride in the buses is colored. This cannot be fully appreciated unless one knows of the distances between schools in the state. One mother near Brooksville, in the central part of the state, stated recently that she had to withdraw her children from school because they had to walk four and one-half miles each way, nine miles a day, to and from school.

This is the Carver's Camp public school near Lakeland, Fla. It has one teacher and observes vacation during the strawberry season

A typical turpentine camp home for families of from one to five. This "home" is located across the "street" from the Carver's camp school

Low Salaries for Teachers

The teachers of the Negro children in Florida have problems equally acute to those of their children. Fifty-eight of them earn less than two hundred dollars a year; approximately seventy-five per cent earn less than five hundred. Union county pays its Negro teachers an average annual salary of $153; twenty-three counties average less than eleven dollars a week during an abbreviated school term. The figure, based on twelve months, would average about six dollars. The fairness of these salaries—even the white teachers admit no adequacy in Florida—may be judged by Alachua county, which has an average per capita cost, based on salaries, of forty dollars for its white schools and six dollars for the Negroes. One county's Negro teachers receive so little that the per capita cost of instructing Negro children, based on teachers' salaries, is less than four dollars *a year.*

Little difficulty is experienced in determining the type of teacher most readily available to grasp at these lucrative salaries. Three hundred and fifty Negro teachers are less than high school graduates; six hundred are teaching on either temporary or no certificates. Several hundred others are employed on examination merely, with no college or normal work necessary to their employment.

It is only natural to expect that with dilapidated, borrowed buildings, neglected or ignored essentials of school program, and underpaid, poorly-prepared teachers the education of the Florida Negro child would go wanting in many respects. This is a perfectly correct assumption, as the statistics will bear out. More than a fourth of all the Negro children enrolled in public schools are in the first grade. Five out of every six are in the first six grades. Less than one out of twenty-five is in any grade above ninth. (Figures based on 1936 reports.)

Even those few who reach high school find themselves faced with a new set of handicaps. Out of the twenty-eight Negro public high schools, only six are accredited. This figure may be contrasted with the situation in the white high schools, where there are two hundred and fifty-eight accredited high schools, and only eighteen non-accredited.

Counties Withhold State Funds

Statistics on the inequalities of the Florida public educational system could be quoted to the point of boredom. There is one factor, though, that makes the Negro in the "Land of Sunshine" positive that neither the Harrison bill nor any bill can mean much to him unless rigid federal control is exercised over such states as Florida; the expenditures by counties of state funds appropriated for Negro education.

It is here that we get our most interesting insight into the possible lengths to which things may go where the Negro is concerned. We find that of the money appropriated for Negroes the average spent by the counties for Negroes is seventy-five per cent for all of them. Twenty-five per cent goes elsewhere. Thirteen of these counties spend less than sixty per cent of the appropriated funds. One county, the Union county mentioned previously, manages to spare Negroes all of thirty-one per cent of the money that the state allots to it for Negro education.

So there, briefly, are Florida's reasons for interest in the possible outcome of the Harrison-Black-Fletcher bill. That the bill can be a signal advance in public education even the Negroes of the truck farms and turpentine camps will admit; that the bill, applied with the brutal inequality and viciousness of the present public education system as practiced in most of the Florida sections, can be anything but a welcome excuse for the further exploitation of Negro school-age children is obvious to the most unenlightened.

Florida Negroes favor rigid federal regulation—or express direction—of the benefits that would follow the passage of the Harrison-Black-Fletcher education bill—and for Florida's own reasons!

USE CARDBOARD IN MAILING PICTURES

Do not mail pictures to newspapers and magazines in envelopes by themselves. Invariably they are bent and torn and are useless when they reach the publishers. Always place at least one piece of stiff cardboard in the envelope with the picture in order to be certain that it is not damaged in the handling at the post office.

Too Much of Race

This is the speech made by Langston Hughes, delegate from the United States, to the Second Interpational Writers Congress held in Paris in July, 1937

MEMBERS of the Second International Writers Congress, comrades, and people of Paris: I come from a land whose democracy from the very beginning has been tainted with race prejudice born of slavery, and whose richness has been poured through the narrow channels of greed into the hands of the few. I come to the Second International Writers Congress representing my country, America, but most especially the Negro peoples of America, and the poor peoples of America—because I am both a Negro and poor. And that combination of color and of poverty gives me the right then to speak for the most oppressed group in America, that group that has known so little of American democracy, the fifteen million Negroes who dwell within our borders.

We are the people who have long known in actual practice the meaning of the word Fascism—for the American attitude towards us has always been one of economic and social discrimination: in many states of our country Negroes are not permitted to vote or to hold political office. In some sections freedom of movement is greatly hindered, especially if we happen to be sharecroppers on the cotton farms of the South. All over America we know what it is to be refused admittance to schools and colleges, to theatres and concert halls, to hotels and restaurants. We know jim-crow cars, race riots, lynchings, we know the sorrows of the nine Scottsboro boys, innocent young Negroes imprisoned some six years now for a crime that even the trial judge declared them not guilty of having committed, and for which some of them have not yet come to trial. Yes, we Negroes in America do not have to be told what Fascism is in action. We know. Its theories of Nordic supremacy and economic suppression have long been realities to us.

And now we view it on a world scale: Hitler in Germany with the abolition of labor unions, his tyranny over the Jews, and the sterilization of the Negro children of Cologne; Mussolini in Italy with his banning of Negroes on the theatrical stages, and his expedition of slaughter in Ethiopia; the Military Party in Japan with their little maps of how they'll conquer the whole world and their savage treatment of Koreans and Chinese; Batista and Vincent, the little American-made tyrants of Cuba and Haiti; and now Spain and Franco with his absurd cry of "Viva Espana" at the hands of Italians, Moors and Germans invited to help him achieve "Spanish Unity." Absurd, but true.

We Negroes of America are tired of a world divided superficially on the basis of blood and color, but in reality on the basis of poverty and power—the rich over the poor, no matter what their color. We Negroes of America are tired of a world in which it is possible for any group of people to say to another: "You have no right to happiness, or freedom, or the joy of life." We are tired of a world where forever we work for someone else and the profits are not ours. We are tired of a world where, when we raise our voices against oppression, we are immediately jailed, intimidated, beaten, sometimes lynched. Nicolas Guillen has been in prison in Cuba, Jacques Roumain, in Haiti, Angelo Herndon in the United States. Today a letter comes from the great Indian writer, Raj Anand, saying that he cannot be with us here in Paris because the British police in England have taken his passport from him. I say, we darker peoples of the earth are tired of a world in which things like that can happen.

And we see in the tragedy of Spain how far the world oppressors will go to retain their power. To them now the murder of women and children is nothing. Those who have already practiced bombing the little villages of Ethiopia now bomb Guernica and Madrid. The same Fascists who forced Italian peasants to fight in Africa now force African Moors to fight in Europe. They do not care about color when they can use you for profits or for war. Japan attempts to force the Chinese of Manchuria to work and fight under Japanese supervision for the glory and wealth of the Tokio bourgeoisie—one colored people dominating another at the point of guns. Race means nothing when it can be turned to Fascist use. And yet race means everything when the Fascists of the world use it as a bugaboo and a terror to keep the working masses from getting together. Just as in America they tell the whites that Negroes are dangerous brutes and rapists, so in Germany they lie about the Jews, and in Italy they cast their verbal spit upon the Ethiopians. And the old myths of race are kept alive to hurt and impede the rising power of the working class. But in America, where race prejudice is so strong, already we have learned what the lies of race mean —continued oppression and poverty and fear—and now Negroes and white sharecroppers in the cotton fields of the South are beginning to get together; and Negro and white workers in the great industrial cities of the North under John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. have begun to create a great labor force that refuses to recognize the color line. Negro and white stevedores on the docks of the West coast of America have formed one of the most powerful labor unions in America. Formerly the unorganized Negro dockworkers—unorganized because the white workers themselves with their backward ideology didn't permit Negroes in their unions—formerly these Negro workers could break a strike. And they did. But now both Negroes and whites are strong. We are learning.

Why is it that the British police seized Raj Anand's passport? Why is it that the State Department in Washington has not yet granted me permission to go to Spain as a representative of the Negro Press? Why is it that the young Negro leader, Angelo Herndon, was finding it most difficult to secure a passport when I last saw him recently in New York? Why? We know why!

It is because the reactionary and Fascist forces of the world know that writers like Anand and myself, leaders like Herndon, and poets like Guillen and Roumain represent the great longing that is in the hearts of the darker peoples of the world to reach out their hands in friendship and brotherhood to all the white races of the earth. The Fascists know that we long to be rid of hatred and terror and oppression, to be rid of conquering and of being conquered, to be rid of all the ugliness of poverty and imperialism that eat away the heart of life today. We represent the end of race. And the Fascists know that when there is no more race, there will be no more capitalism, and no more war, and no more money for the munition makers, because the workers of the world will have triumphed.

Editorials

Nearer to Victory

THERE should be no discouragement over the action of the Senate in placing the anti-lynching bill over into the next session of congress. In reality, a victory has been won and the supporters of this legislation are one step farther ahead in the fight than they ever have been before.

In the next session the bill is definitely on the Senate calendar to be called up as the second item of unfinished business, immediately following the farm bill. Heretofore the anti-lynching bill has had to fight to get on the Senate calendar. The filibusters that developed against the Dyer bill in 1922 and the Wagner-Costigan bill in 1935 were on the motion to consider, that is, on whether the bill ought to be brought before the Senate at those particular times.

There will be no such fight in the next session. It has been agreed and voted by two-thirds of the Senate to make the anti-lynching bill the unfinished business of the Senate in the next regular session in January or in a special session in the fall if such a session is called. The fight now will be on the bill itself and not on whether it ought to be taken up. The greatest danger now is a filibuster, but since the bill is to come up early in the session, and not, as heretofore, in the rush at the end of a session, there is a much better chance of fighting off a filibuster.

The task for supporters of the bill is to continue to hold the senators who have favored this bill in line, and to marshal even greater public opinion behind the bill. There are more than enough votes to pass it, but the senators must be kept aware of the undiminished interest of the people in passage of this legislation.

Not Ended

CONTRARY to sentiments expressed in many quarters, the famous Scottsboro cases are not ended with the dropping of rape charges against five of the defendants and the unconditional release of four of them. Roy Wright, Olen Montgomery, Eugene Williams and Willie Roberson are free, but Andy Wright, Charlie Weems, Haywood Patterson, Ozie Powell and Clarence Norris are in prison, the first four under long sentences and Norris under a death sentence.

The story of Victoria Price was that *all nine* boys raped her. She told this story on the witness stand again and again and it was on this testimony that the state convicted the boys over and over again. At this late date the state now declares, in effect, that Victoria Price's story is not sufficient to convict four boys and therefore it sets them free. If the story is not strong enough in the case of four, it is not strong enough in the case of five, and all the defendants should be released.

The Scottsboro Defense Committee has announced that the fight for the release of the remaining defendants will be pressed vigorously. The Scottsboro cases are not ended and all lovers of justice are but spurred to greater efforts by the illogical action of the state of Alabama.

Seeing Is Believing

THE four states in which have occurred six lynchings thus far during 1937 to date have done nothing except "deplore" lynchings. The southern congressmen declare fervently that the states can "take care of lynching." We are from Missouri and we have been waiting many a year to be shown that.

A Good Architect

IN a recent issue of the *American* magazine appeared an article entitled "I Am A Negro" by Paul Williams, the successful California architect. In it Mr. Williams gives something of his personal philosophy on the race problem in America and tells something of his own personal history in making his way in his profession.

Many persons have spoken to THE CRISIS about this article, but we are not inclined to criticize Mr. Williams unduly even though he has expressed some views diametrically opposed to those held by a great group of American citizens, black and white. We have known of Mr. Williams for many years and have been (and still are) proud of his achievements in his profession. If he chooses to believe in 1937 as did Booker T. Washington in 1895 that in all things social the races can be as separate as the fingers, but in other matters as united as the hand, that is his privilege.

The unfortunate aspect of articles of this type, however, is that some colored person who has achieved distinction in some one field and thus becomes of interest to some sections of the white public, or to some publisher, is invited to speak for publication and touch on racial philosophy. Inevitably these pronouncements are regarded by the general reading public as statements from the race itself.

So when Paul Williams, a talented and financially successful Negro architect, says the races should be "forever divided" and that out of deference to the white man's idea of separation he "never attends social affairs where white women are guests," such statements are regarded by most whites, not as the private opinions of Paul Williams, but as a philosophy for all the members of Paul Williams' race. One could wish, in the light of Mr. Williams' achievements, that he would join James Weldon Johnson in saying, "I do not know anybody or know of anybody too good to associate with me."

Mr. Williams has a basic theory, aside from his ideas on interracial social contacts, that the Negro race is going to be saved by individuals in it raising themselves and winning places of distinction. He has struggled, he says, to be regarded as an individual Negro, above the level of the Negro stereotyped in the public mind. He has succeeded. Whereas the average white man would not think of asking the average Negro to design a house for him, he now begs Paul Williams to design estates costing $100,000 and more.

But what of the millions of the masses of Paul Williams' race who do not have even a bootstrap by which to try to raise themselves? How are they to be saved—or are they to be saved? Only a few people get "the breaks." Only a comparative few, it is true, have extraordinary talent. But there are several millions of decent, honest, industrious Negroes who deserve much better than they receive. In a democracy, theoretically at least, they are entitled to equal opportunity to achieve security and a measure of happiness. They can never achieve these goals if the more talented, the more aggressive, and the more ingenious of their fellows desert them and retire into a separate world barricaded flimsily by capricious and wholly artificial racial theories pleasing to the white majority.

Mr. Williams is a good architect and we wish him years of success. The story of his struggle is inspiring, but is in itself a powerful agrument, not for establishing it as the pattern for others to follow, but for changing our system to make it easier for others to achieve distinction and success.

Africa

(*Continued from page 263*)

sible. In Abyssinia, the cheapest labour will be black and not white. This fact is so commonplace that it is hardly necessary to emphasise the point that Italian workers will be at a disadvantage in selling their labour power in Africa.

Competition with Native Labor

For example, take South Africa, where the proletariat is composed of two races: European and African. And what do we find? Things have gone so badly for the white workers that the government has had to resort to Colour Bar Acts and other forms of discriminatory racial legislation in order to safeguard their interests. But even these measures have not solved the problem, for since the overwhelming majority of European workers are unable to find protection within the Colour Bar scheme, they are forced to compete with the natives, with the result that South Africa has one of the biggest social problems on its hands—the "poor white" class.

While it is true that the standard of life of Italian workers is among the lowest in Europe, nevertheless it is still much higher than that of the Abyssinian serfs, and when considered in relation to the climatic conditions under which they will have to live, theirs would be hopeless lot indeed. Furthermore, in a world of surplus stocks of raw materials, Abyssinian products would have to be produced by the lowest paid labour in order to compete on the world market. Under such conditions what chances could Italian immigrants in Africa have against indigenous labour?

The same applies to the Germans to an even greater extent, since they are accustomed to a much higher standard of living than the Italians. And precisely for this very reason, when Germany was a great colonial power, there were only 18,000 Germans, including civil and military officials, traders, gentlemen farmers, in all her African possessions. The truth of the matter is that there were more Germans gainfully employed in Paris on the eve of the war than in all the oversea German territories.

Africa was, and still is, no place for German colonists, except the privileged few with sufficient capital to guarantee them the status of employers. Even Hitler seems to realise this, for while stressing the need of colonies as sources for raw materials, markets and outlets for capital, he has always emphasised the fact that when he talks of new lands as the future home for German peasants he means the Soviet Ukraine.

Professor Sir Arthur Salter, of Oxford university, supports our contention that Africa is unsuitable for European colonisation. He says:

"I think it is well to say as emphatically as possible that as a contribution to the surplus population of the world by immigration, colonies offer just nothing at all. . . . Whatever Japan does in regard to Manchuria in ten years' time, there won't be as many Japanese in Manchuria as the increase of Japanese population over six months. If Italy conquered the whole of Abyssinia and planted settlers there as hard as ever she could in ten years' time she would not have dealt with the increase of population of Italy in two months. If you take central tropical Africa, all the Europeans in all the colonies established in the course of more than a quarter of a century, do not amount to as much as the increase of the Italian population in a year. There is no such thing as a surplus population anywhere except one that is relative to and caused by the economic system."

We wholeheartedly agree with the learned professor that "there is no such thing as a surplus population," for the U.S.S.R., a country with 175 millions population and an even more rapidly increasing birth rate than that of Italy and Germany, is not only able to accommodate its population, but is continually raising the standard of life of the people; while that of the German and Italian workers goes from bad to worse. There is no mystery about this. It simply proves the superiority of the Socialist economic system over capitalism. The Soviets have solved "overpopulation" to such an extent that they are fighting hard to give their people more bread; while the Fascists want war because they cannot provide any bread for theirs.

Canada and Australia

Assuming for the sake of argument that their exists a legitimate demand on the part of Italy and Germany for territories on which to settle their "surplus" populations, it seems to us that Canada and Australia offer by far more suitable conditions for European emigrants than Africa. Quite true, the Dominions also have their unemployment problems, but so have the African colonies. None the less, these white men's lands, thanks to the tremendous areas which they cover, on the one hand, and their small populations on the other hand, should certainly be thrown open to Germans and Italians, especially since they debar non-Europeans. Would this not be a worthy gesture in the cause of world peace?

So much for the population issue. In our next article we shall discuss the more important reasons why Germany, Italy and Japan are demanding a redivision of the colonial world.

The next article by Mr. Padmore will appear in an early issue.

Housing Problem

(*Continued from page 269*)

much of his income for rent and also bars the Negro whose financial status is such that he does not need the advantages the project supplies.

Rents are paid promptly, some of them in advance.

With a quotation from Mr. Scott, I close: "The success of the project thus far is due to the pride the people have taken in their new homes, a sharp contrast with the dingy houses of the other areas in which the Negroes live. If one tenant polishes the chromium of his porch light, before long most of his neighbors have followed suit."

May those lights so shine before men that they may see that the Negro not only needs help but is well worth helping.

◆

First Among Equals

By O. H. Mosely

The gleam of stars out in the night,
When reigns black darkness everywhere,
Can never match the lustrous light
That sparkles in her hair.

There never was a raven's wing
Nor sable's blackest coat, I ween,
Nor polished jet, nor anything
Like her eyes' inky sheen.

No flow'r has blossomed anywhere,
In garden or on mead or link,
So delicate it can compare
With her lip's coral pink.

There is no velvet half so brown
Nor silk nor satin half so sleek—
There is no daintiest of down
Soft as her dimpled cheek.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

"Justice and Reason" at Decatur

America, New York, N. Y.

IT is impossible to assent to the editorial opinion of the New York *Herald-Tribune* that the decision in the Scottsboro cases "represents a material victory for the cause of reason and justice." Reason and justice have never been applied to these cases, nor was either heard from in the court at Decatur last week. About all that can be said is that these nine men were not hanged to the nearest tree by a lawless mob. But we cannot escape the conclusion that four of the nine have been found guilty by a jury deaf to the dictates of reason and justice, and have been sentenced, one to death, and three others to long terms in the penitentiary, by a court similarly afflicted.

If that is reason and justice, words have assumed a new meaning since these "trials" began some six years ago.

It must be kept clearly in mind that the State had but one pertinent witness, the alleged victim. Her testimony, repeated again and again, was that everyone of the nine men was guilty. Hence, the only testimony which the State could present told with equal force against not four but all of the nine. If the State accepted it as true of one of the men, it was obliged, unless it wished to impeach its own witness, to accept it as true of all of them.

But the State now admits that this testimony is utterly false in the case of two of these defendants. It admits, further, that the testimony is dubious as to the three men convicted at the recent "trial" at Decatur. For although the penalty for the crime alleged is death, and properly should be, the State declined to ask the death penalty. It planned what is euphemistically styled a "compromise."

The "compromise" can be easily stated. We are not sure that these men are guilty. We have the testimony of one woman only, and she is of doubtful character. It is true that under the law no man can be convicted of crime unless his guilt has been shown beyond reasonable doubt. But we must end these trials which are a public scandal. Therefore, although we have no unimpeachable, but only insufficient, evidence, we will arrange to send one man to the penitentiary for ninety-nine years, and two others for seventy-five.

That is not "reason and justice." It is a shocking denial of justice. It is a stultifying rejection of reason. If these men are guilty, they should be executed. If they are innocent, they should be released, with apologies from the State, and reimbursement. For the State has kept them in jail for nearly seven years on the strength of evidence which the State itself now admits to be insufficient for conviction.

Twice the Supreme Court has sternly rebuked the State of Alabama. Whether this case can again be brought before the Court is somewhat uncertain. If it cannot, these men will rot in jail. But their sacrifice will not be in vain if their imprisonment gradually creates, particularly in those benighted communities where reason and justice are customarily set aside to convict the black man, the realization that the Negro is a human being, a man and a brother.

In wiping out its separate lists of eligibles and replacing them with one list from which teachers will be appointed to any schools in the system, the Philadelphia Board of School Commission has not only taken a forward step for its city, but has done the colored people of the entire country a good turn. . . .

Since democracy in this country is impossible with a separate school system pumping the virus of racial prejudice into every coming generation, let us hope that Philadelphia has begun a movement that will move Southward.—*Afro-American.*

The Democratic majority in the United States Senate can pass an anti-lynch bill before adjournment if it so desires. The majority is top heavy at present because of Negro votes in northern, eastern and middle western states. . . .

Negro voters in northern states should put the utmost pressure upon their senators in behalf of the measure and if it fails of passage before adjournment the blame will rest upon the doorsteps of these Democratic senators who owe their offices to Negroes.—Richmond *Planet.*

Rev. D. J. Jenkins, "The Orphanage Man," is dead. During his long and useful life in Charleston, South Carolina, more than 5,000 boys and girls were cared for in the Jenkins' Orphanage. Many of them grew into useful citizens. . . .

In his passing a great character has fallen. He did more than talk. He constructed an institution for character building. He cared for the sick and the poor. It is sincerely hoped that those who worked with him will continue the great work so nobly begun and carried on at so great a sacrifice. Philadelphia *Tribune.*

The Farm Tenancy Act passed by both houses of Congress providing $135,000,000 to aid a maximum of 3,000,000 farm tenants and sharecroppers with loans to help them buy farms, is a far cry from the original proposal calling for an appropriation of $470,000,000, but it is better than nothing.

It was hardly expected that the larger sum would be instantly appropriated since farm tenancy is a venerable institution intimately associated with the civilization and traditions of the South whose representatives in Congress regard it with political reverence.—Norfolk *Journal and Guide.*

In this section of the country, there is quite a difference in the pay of teachers of the two racial groups. . . . An organized effort is being made to equalize this pay, based upon this assertion: "Teachers in the same county or school district who have equal qualifications and who do the same kind and amount of work shall receive the same salary irrespective of race or color." . . . This was greatly inspired by the suit entered by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the Board of Education of Montgomery County, Maryland. . . . Before the case was tried in court, the Board of Education agreed to equalize the salaries now being paid white and colored teachers. This is an advance step. Beginning with this month the colored teachers of that locality will be greatly benefited, financially. This is only a beginning. It means that efforts will be made to equalize pay wherever there is the least disparity.—Savannah *Tribune.*

Lynching . . . sours and perverts American thinking in every interracial relation. If Negroes can be killed on suspicion, with every savage cruelty toward them justified, then their education, their employment, their enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, their rights under the law, being less than life itself, are bound to be treated with slight consideration.—*The Call,* Kansas City, Mo.

Making Democracy Work

By Elvena Miller

During the month of May, Dean William Pickens of the N.A.A.C.P. staff delivered a series of lectures for the Seattle Public Forums. This is a piece about his work

BELIEVING that Democracy can not succeed without the development of an electorate that is trained to study civic problems with open minds, casting aside all prejudice and using their intelligence rather than their emotions in a desire to seek the truth, Dr. John Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, has sponsored during the past year a program of free adult public forums in nineteen different communities throughout the country. Federal funds were allocated for this purpose, but the direction of the forums was left entirely to the local sponsoring boards, in most cases the boards of education. It was they who selected the speakers and the subjects they should discuss; it was they who determined the policies of their own forums. It was hoped that the experiment would demonstrate to the different communities that the free adult public forum is a means of "making democracy work," and that they would see the value of financing such a program for themselves.

Controversial problems vital to our democracy were discussed. It was the business of the forums not to propagandize, but rather to present all sides of the questions fairly and stimulate the members of the audience to further study and to a desire to learn the other person's point of view. Leaders were selected who because of their training and personalities were able to do just this. After the presentation, the question was thrown to the audience for discussion. It was found that the American public is not only willing but eager to study matters in this fair-minded way, and that it is possible to discuss a controversial question dispassionately and from a non-partisan point of view.

Because one of the important problems of our country is the development in our citizens of an understanding of the different races who make up this Democracy of ours, the Seattle Public Forums asked Dr. William Pickens, director of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to present to the people of Seattle a series of four lectures under the general heading, "The Contribution of the Negro to America." First he dealt with the introduction of the Negro into America, and then his contribution as a worker and a citizen. He next discussed the problems of the sharecroppers. His final lecture was on the Negro's cultural contribution in the fields of literature, music, and painting.

Wins Audience

For a period of four weeks, Dr. Pickens talked five nights a week to crowded houses in different sections of Seattle and in near-by towns. It must be realized that Dr. Pickens is a dynamic speaker with such sincerity of purpose and with such understanding of human nature that he establishes a perfect rapport with his audience. His attitude of assuming the fairness of his listeners and their friendliness, coupled with his humor and power of vivid expression, won his listeners at the very beginning. In districts where there was some prejudice he took the audience by storm, and after the first week the entire city and many of the neighboring communities were doing everything in their power to get him to talk in their districts. People demonstrated an eagerness to learn from him because his splendid background of social and economic study commanded their respect at the outset. The arousing of this very eagerness to hear what he had to say was ample justification of the forum program, but his contribution was greater than that, and can best be given by describing some of his forum meetings.

Of real significance was one meeting in an old school building nearest to the down-town section in a district where many of Seattle's colored people live. The auditorium was in a basement room—difficult to reach, unattractive, and uncomfortable. The only seats were hard benches. The lighting was poor and there was no platform for the speaker. In this small room about two hundred Seattle citizens gathered one night to discuss the problem of the Sharecroppers. The audience was an amazing assemblage of people from all races and all walks of life. They had come from all over the city. There were about as many white people as colored. Listening to Dr. Pickens and engaging in the discussion after his presentation were laborers, teachers, small tradesmen, students, business men, professionals, housewives, a county commissioner, a society matron and a clergyman. This unusual group of people had come from all over the city and had met in this dingy basement to discuss with a Negro who had won their respect a problem that he thoroughly understood: an American problem that must be solved not by any one class alone but by the mixed group of citizens who make up the electorate; a problem that can not be solved until the electorate studies it as a homogenous group and faces it not from the viewpoint of any special group, but for the good of all.

Dr. Pickens' presentation was vivid and his analysis was intelligent. He united in the interests of his audience by showing that the problem is not a racial problem but one that is uniting whites and blacks to meet a common need. The discussion revealed that his audience was willing to look at the problem fairly, and that they were well aware that it is a problem not of a particular section of the country nor of a particular race, but a problem for American Democracy to solve. Such is the purpose of the forum: to develop an understanding and a fair approach to any problem that exists.

Contributions of the Negro

In another community of the city, far out from the city center, there assembled an equally large crowd to hear Dr. Pickens discuss the Negro's contribution to the literature of America. This meeting was held in an attractive comfortable auditorium of a school building. There were very few colored people in the audience. The people who were in attendance were mostly clerical and professional, and there were a number of children who enjoyed the program very much. These people were so interested that they held Dr. Pickens long over the scheduled time for closing, asking him to read any number of poems for them and to tell them stories that they had long known and loved. The presentation this time was frankly directed towards developing an appreciation of the Negro as an artist. Everyone in the audience showed his sincere appreciation not only of Dr. Pickens,

(*Continued on page* 285)

Catholic Students Ask Square Deal for Negro

VOICING a vibrant plea for greater consideration of the social, educational, religious and economic problems of the Negro, two hundred members of the student body at Fordham university summer school, as well as several members of the summer school faculty joined in drafting two resolutions embracing those attitudes. Most significant of the resolutions was the one calling upon Catholic colleges and universities in the North to open their doors more generally to qualified Negro students.

The occasion was a symposium, held Thursday, August 5, under the auspices of the Fordham university summer school and arranged by the Catholic Inter-racial Council. Presented in the form of a public Congressional hearing, the meeting was presided over by three judges and a general counsel with five witnesses giving evidence.

Dr. Hudson M. Oliver, president of the Catholic Interracial Council, presided, assisted by Francis S. Mosely, of the Fordham university graduate school, and Schuyler N. Warren, New York attorney.

Each of the five witnesses presented "evidence" in the form of prepared statements covering individual aspects of the current problems accepted by all agencies as of direct importance in the scheme of sociology and education.

The "witnesses" were called to the stand by Gerard L. Carroll, an attorney, who later presented the summation and helped to draft the resolutions which were read before the audience and acted upon before the meeting was brought to a close.

The resolution provided for (1) that Catholic educators take an active interest in effecting a greater understanding of interracial justice, and (2) that a measure of influence be exerted in all Catholic institutions of learning in the North in that they open the doors more generally to fully qualified colored students in the field of higher education.

Most important of the "evidence" presented was the testimony given by Dr. Peter M. Murray, member of the staff of Harlem Hospital. His contention was that since sickness among and care of Negroes is almost the same as in the white race, the problem is one of emphasis, not of kind.

"Taking the country at large for the last census year," Dr. Murray said, "the standardized death rate of white persons was 9.9 per 1,000 of population as against the Negro rate of 18.0. This means that the colored death rate was 82% higher than the white race."

"It is obvious that better housing and sanitation, improved nutrition and generally improved conditions will have to be provided if the colored population of our country is to be materially improved," Dr. Murray said. He declared that there appears to be a growing movement among the medical schools of the country to open their doors to more qualified students of medicine for practice among Negroes and that will help greatly to meet the demand for Negro physicians.

The Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., associate editor of *America* and chaplain of the Interracial Council was the first witness and presented a summary of the organization's activities and aims. "The spiritual welfare of the colored race," he said, "is being given greater consideration with each year. There are now three hundred priests and 1,200 nuns serving in parishes throughout the country." He was followed on the witness stand by Maceo A. Thomas, B.S., who was graduated from Cornell university and is now in business in New York. His paper dealt with the educational problems of his race. He said that the Negro "needs education, seeks education and is able to get education to a larger degree now than in many years." Of the 25,000 students in colleges maintained for colored people exclusively, more than 2,500 received degrees this year. "There are more than 2,000 Negro students in colleges not exclusively for them," he continued, "and of them 130 were graduated this year and many of them with high honors."

Dr. Edward M. Best, also a member of the Harlem Hospital staff, discussed the discrimination problems of his race, while Elmer A. Carter, editor of *Opportunity*, presented a resume of the varied economic problems besetting the colored man in America. "Cheap labor was created in the South with slavery" he asserted, "and today whites and blacks alike, in the South, suffer as a result."

Annual Children's and Youth number of THE CRISIS in December. Material must be in November 1.

Our Aimless Business Education

(*Continued from page 265*)

carrying on their new and growing responsibilities. To dismiss them would be cruel and to continue to employ them in their present duties would be sacrificing the progress of the departments in which they are employed. In many cases, these teachers began as high school or elementary school teachers. As the institution expanded into a college, they began to teach in the college not so much because of their qualification to do so, but because of the desire of the administration to show recognition of their faithful service during the childhood of the institution or because of the financial inability of the administration to hire additional staff.

Two ways out of this difficulty are suggested: (a) Teachers who have been in service sufficiently long should be rewarded with pensions for their faithful service, and the cost so incurred should be regarded as a legitimate expense for the maintenance of the college which has been built by hard labor of these men; and (b) teachers who are not old enough to be pensioned should be given work in the high school or elementary school attached to the college, if there be one, or such work in the college as they are capable of doing efficiently.

(4) An annual conference of the heads of business departments and of others primarily interested in Negro business should be held in order to develop a definite policy in business education for Negroes, to standardize certain courses, to determine the requirements for graduation, and to discuss general business problems facing the Negro. It must not be forgotten that as long as the Negro race has not reached the economic level now occupied by the white race, it would be the part of wisdom to use only such tools as best meet its present needs with no apology for this procedure. As the social and economic distinctions between the two races disappear in the course of time, and as the Negro improves his educational status, the phrases "Negro education" and "white education" will lose their meaning. Until then, it will be foolish as well as detrimental to ape "Wall Street" ideas of business.

The writer solicits correspondence from educators and business men who can offer constructive recommendations for improvement of business curricula in Negro colleges.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Anti-lynch Bill on Senate Calendar Next Session

AFTER deadlocking the Senate and throwing the closing days of Congress into a panic, the supporters of the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill agreed to a proposal made by Senate leaders that the bill be set down definitely on the Senate calendar for action in the next session after the farm bill.

Action on the anti-lynching bill will be taken either at the regular session beginning next January or at the special session sometime in the fall, if a special session should be called.

The resolution making the anti-lynching bill the unfinished business of the Senate was proposed by Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley, of Kentucky, and passed by a two-thirds vote August 12.

The resolution means that the anti-lynching bill will not have to fight for a place on the calendar and that there will be no argument over whether it should be taken up or not. It means that the anti-lynching bill is definitely set down on the Senate calendar and must be debated and voted upon.

Victory for Bill

In hailing the present arrangement as a victory, supporters of the anti-lynching bill point out that in all the history of anti-lynching legislation in the Senate, the fight has always come on the motion to take up the bill. The filibusters in the Senate on the Dyer bill in 1922 and on the Costigan-Wagner bill in 1935 were made on the motion to consider, not on the merits of the bill itself.

Now, by the agreement reached August 12, there will be no fight over a motion to consider. The bill will positively come up on the calendar and be debated on its merits.

Action on the anti-lynching bill came with a dramatic suddenness on Wednesday afternoon, August 11, when Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, suddenly moved that the Senate take up the anti-lynching bill. Arrangement had been made by Senate leaders to take up the District of Columbia airport bill and Vice-President Garner, who was in the chair, had been advised to recognize the senators who would bring up the airport bill. However, these senators delayed in arising and asking for the floor and while they were waiting, Senator Wagner jumped up and asked for consideration of the anti-lynching bill.

There was nothing for Vice-President Garner to do but to recognize Senator Wagner and thus the bill was brought before the Senate. Senator Barkley arose and pointed out that the airport bill was to be considered, but Mr. Garner reminded him of the rules of the Senate which demanded the recognition of the first senator on his feet.

Immediately the Senate was in an uproar. Several attempts were made to get Senator Wagner to withdraw his motion but he stood pat.

A motion to adjourn was made. If this motion had been successful, it would have dislodged the anti-lynching bill from consideration and would have permitted the Senate to take up other bills the next day. The motion was lost by a vote of 35-27.

Borah Speaks Against Bill

Senator Borah took the floor and made a long speech against the anti-lynching bill charging that it was attempting to remove all authority from the states over their own affairs. Finally the Senate recessed until August 12 and overnight, desperate efforts were made to bring order out of chaos. Behind the scenes, there was feverish activity on the part of Senate leaders to effect some sort of arrangement by which the snarl of legislation could be untangled. Pressure was brought to bear on senators favorable to the administration and also favorable to the anti-lynching bill to get them to choke off the anti-lynching bill and bring it up later.

Finally there was a proposal that the bill be made a special order of business for the next session and given a place on the calendar. This proposal was finally agreed to by Senators Wagner and Van Nuys late Thursday afternoon, August 12.

With the pressure from the powerful sugar bill lobby and from the District of Columbia airport bill lobby and with the great desire of all senators to close the session and go home, it is believed that the agreement on the anti-lynching bill was the wisest move and that continual pressure for action at this time, in the closing days of the session, would have aroused antagonism which would have made it very difficult for the bill to come up again.

As it is now, the bill is on the calendar; is scheduled to be the second one considered in the new session; and will not have to fight for a place on the calendar.

As for the chances of passage, the United Press, in a story on August 11, declared that supporters of the bill claimed 70 votes and "test votes indicate that they are not exaggerating."

The New York *Herald-Tribune* correspondent in analyzing the bill's chances declares that it is "almost certain of passage" now that it has won a place on the calendar.

Galleries Crowded

Notice of action on the anti-lynching bill drew crowded galleries to the Senate. Colored people came from near and far, some of them from as far as Westchester county, New York. The galleries were crowded for the first time since the supreme court bill fight.

The discussion on August 11 contained a long speech by Senator Borah and the discussion on August 12, until the action was taken putting the bill off until next session, was featured by the usual harangue from Senator Tom Connally of Texas.

Senator Borah was heckled and questioned repeatedly during his speech by Senators Sherman Minton, of Indiana, and J. Hamilton Lewis, of Illinois. Others who fought to the last ditch for the anti-lynching bill were Senators Bone of Washington and Ashurst of Arizona. Among the most active in the support of the bill was Senator Bennett Champ Clark, of Missouri. It was through the efforts of Senator Clark that pictures of the Duck Hill, Mississippi, blow torch lynching, which were too horrible to print in newspapers, were displayed on a bulletin board in the Senate chamber.

When the motion to make the anti-

lynching bill a special order of business in the next session was made, Senator Ashurst arose to say that he would not vote for it unless it read "shall become *and remain* the unfinished business." Senator Harrison, of Mississippi, said that his group was not willing to agree to that, whereupon Senator Ashurst declared he would not vote for it unless they did. Finally, the motion was voted in the form desired, insuring that the anti-lynching bill would be on the calendar continuously until it was disposed of.

Senators Express Themselves

Numerous senators have expressed opinions on the anti-lynching bill to the N.A.A.C.P. and among them are the following sentiments:

From Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York: "The agreement of the Senate to make the anti-lynching bill its unfinished business for January is a great victory. At that time it will be impossible to deny to the overwhelming majority in the Senate who are for the bill a chance to vote for it."

From Senator Frederick Van Nuys, of Indiana: "The action taken by the Senate on the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill was approved by me. In my opinion it insures a vote and a favorable vote at the beginning of our next session."

From Senator Bennett Champ Clark, of Missouri: "It is my belief that agreement made yesterday for making anti-lynching bill special order for very beginning of next session was best possible solution of problem for earliest consideration. At this session we would have been confronted by pressure of administration measures and desire for adjournment which would have prevented us from presenting our full strength on any occasion. Under agreement made we have passed the obstacle of opposition to consideration which has held up the bill so long. In my judgment the action taken means certain passage of the bill very early in the next session."

From Senator Homer T. Bone, of Washington: "Adoption of motion making anti-lynching bill special order of business next session immediately following disposition of farm bill insures action in Senate in early part of session."

From Senator Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado: "Senate action insures favorable disposition this problem by Congress at an early date. I am ready to vote for an anti-lynching bill today or any other day."

From Senator A. Harry Moore, of New Jersey: "I believe that after all these years of fighting and working that the anti-lynching bill is soon to become the law of the land. It is now definitely at the beginning and not at the end of the legislative program and must be disposed of before passing on. I am sure it will pass and I congratulate you upon the great fight you have made."

Members of the board and national officers of the NAACP at Detroit were guests at a luncheon given by the Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company. The women, left to right: Miss Richetta G. Randolph, Miss Frances Williams, Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson, Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, Miss L. Pearl Mitchell, Miss Juanita E. Jackson. The men, left to right: James H. Robinson, William Pickens, J. E. Spingarn, Sidney R. Redmond, Roscoe Dunjee, Dr. Louis T. Wright, Louis C. Blount, Walter White, Roy Wilkins, Moses L. Walker and Thurgood M. Marshall

From Senator M. M. Neely, of West Virginia: "The supporters of this necessary legislation should find encouragement in the fact that a vote on the merits of the bill in January or February is absolutely assured."

From Senator James J. Davis, of Pennsylvania: "I congratulate you and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People upon your continued efforts in behalf of constitutional government and law enforcement. I have constantly made clear my stand on the menace of lynch law."

From Senator Royal S. Copeland, of New York: "Let us take cheer in the special order compelling consideration of the bill in January and hope for better luck next year."

From Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, of Illinois: "I am wholly sure bill will pass first days of next session. Best wishes."

From Senator William H. Smathers, of New Jersey: "Those of us who believe that it is time for the federal government to act on anti-lynching legislation are satisfied that the movement won a victory under the leadership of Senator Wagner yesterday in forcing the southern senators to accede to a special order giving right of way to this legislation in January."

From Senator Arthur Capper, of Kansas: "I feel that those of us who favor this legislation should take encouragement from the fact that we now have definite assurance that it will be taken up and disposed of by the Senate early in the next session. Certainly I hope for its passage at that time and I shall do everything in my power to bring about favorable action on it."

In a personal statement on the action of the Senate, Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., said:

"The action of the Senate in voting to make a special order of the anti-lynching bill marks one of the greatest victories in the fight for the bill. It hurdles the technicality which blocked Senate action in 1922 against the Dyer bill and in 1935 against the Wagner-Costigan bill, namely, the filibuster against the motion to consider the bill. A special order supersedes the making of a motion to consider, and the Senate vote thus makes the bill the unfinished business of the Senate immediately after action on farm legislation at either the regular session in January or the special session in the fall, should one be called.

(*Continued on next page*)

"The Association is grateful to all those who have worked so faithfully over so long a period for this achievement. The task now of all friends of the bill is to keep contact with their senators and hold the votes which we now have and also to stress to senators that should a filibuster be attempted against the bill itself they stand fast."

Largest Branch

The spring membership campaign of the Detroit, Mich., branch resulted in the securing of more than 3,000 members, making Detroit the largest branch of the N.A.A.C.P. in the country. The intensive membership campaign was in charge of Dr. J. J. McClendon and a corps of workers all of whom worked under the general direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, national field secretary. L. C. Blount is president of the branch.

One Every 10 Days

From July 20 to August 17 inclusive, three persons were lynched in the United States, an average of one every 10 days. On July 20 at Tallahassee, Florida, Richard Hawkins and Ernest Ponder were taken from the city jail within three blocks of the state capitol and killed by a mob. The official excuse is that they stabbed a policeman who was questioning them about a robbery. There are numerous rumors surrounding the lynching, one of which is that the victims had nothing to do with a robbery and did not stab a policeman. Despite the fact that Gov. Fred P. Cone ordered a complete investigation, nothing has been done.

On August 17 Albert Gooden was hanged and shot by six men at Covington, Tenn. He was suspected of the murder of a white man and had been in jail in Memphis, Tenn. He was being brought back to Covington for trial when, according to the sheriff, the mob overpowered the officer and took the prisoner.

Branch News

The **Richmond, Va.,** branch made a formal protest to Col. John Cutchins, director of public safety, on police brutality prevalent in the Negro section of Richmond. The branch complaint charged that during a disturbance in which a white man attacked a Negro with a meat cleaver police officers brandished weapons in a threatening manner and thus threatened the peace of the neighborhood and respect for law and order. Director Cutchins said the complaint would be given consideration and both sides of the controversy given a hearing.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
Addressing the 28th annual NAACP conference in Detroit, Mich.

A report meeting on the Detroit conference was held by the **Youngstown, Ohio,** branch Sunday, August 1, at the Third Baptist church. C. L. Robinson, Floyd Haines and W. S. Vaughn reported on the conference.

The **Bakersfield, Calif.,** branch held election of officers July 26.

The regular meeting of the **Memphis, Tenn.,** branch was held July 27 with President Utillus R. Phillips reporting on the Detroit conference.

Senator J. J. Holister was the guest speaker at a meeting of the **Santa Barbara, Calif.,** branch July 25.

President C. F. Richardson of the **Houston, Texas,** branch presided at the meeting July 26 at Bebee Tabernacle at which reports of delegates who attended the Detroit conference were received.

The **Springfield, Ill.,** branch met July 26 to complete plans for the Emancipation Day program scheduled for September 22.

Grant V. Freeman, branch president, and C. I. Moat, secretary, who attended the Detroit conference, reported to the **Media, Pa.,** branch at its regular July meeting.

The annual oratorical contest conducted by the **Media, Pa.,** branch for the high school graduates in the area covered by the branch was held in the First Baptist church, Morton, Pa., July 6. The subject for oration was "Has the N.A.A.C.P. Justified Its Existence." The first prize was won by Miss Eleanor Johnson, of Swarthmore high school; the second by Miss Alice Fields of Bordentown high and industrial school; the third by Percy O. Batipps of the Media high.

The graduates and the respective schools they represented: Media high—William Hicks, Chesterfield Moat, Paul Somerville, Luther Randolph, Leonard Edwards, Emily Ferguson, Dorothy Anderson, Christafene Morgan, Jessie Garnett, Edison Chase, William Jacobs, John Elliot, Roberg Burnett, David Lockwood, Percy Batipps; Swarthmore high—Eleanor Johnson, Rosalie Maddox; Lansdowne high—Wilbur Freeman; Nether Providence high, Wade James, Katherine Bailey; Bordentown high—Alice Fields.

After the contest a reception was tendered the graduates by the branch at which time all the graduates gave brief talks and told of their intentions to further their education. C. I. Moat, secretary of the branch, was in charge of the oratorical contest, while Dr. Lancess McKnight acted as toast master at the reception.

Robert Burnett of Media high, holds the record of the high schools throughout the state in the pole vault.

The **Rahway, N. J.,** branch held a summer concert July 28 at the Second Baptist church at which the Florida Gospel singers appeared.

The **Morristown, N. J., Juniors** held a boat ride up the Hudson on August 19.

Little Miss Cynthia Nevarda Winslow, age four months, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Winslow of White Plains, New York, was the winner of the first prize in the baby contest conducted by the **White Plains** branch.

Superintendent Harry Pebly of the Sharpsville, Pa., schools spoke on the subject "Interracial Cooperation" for the **Sharon, Pa.,** branch on July 25.

Mrs. T. G. Nutter announces the following schedule of meetings for the **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch for the year 1937–38:

September: Miss May Belcher, executive secretary of the Central Branch Y.W.C.A., Indianapolis, Indiana.

October: Be Square Club, Miss Jean Dunlop, director.

November: Miss Juanita Jackson, director of youth work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York, N. Y.

December: Mrs. Lillian Washington Jordan, dean of women, West Virginia State College.

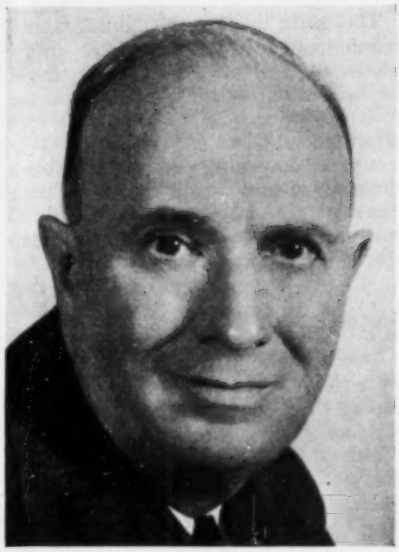
January: Alpha Kappa Alpa sorority, guest speaker, Dr. Willa Carter Burch, supervisor of primary instruction, public schools, Washington, D. C.

February: Delta Sigma Theta sorority, guest speaker, Mrs. Constance Ridley Heslip, Toledo, Ohio.

March: Omega Psi fraternity, guest speaker, Dr. Garnet C. Wilkinson, first assistant superintendent of schools, Washschools, Washington, D. C.

April: Kappa Alpha Psi Phi fraternity, guest speaker, Dr. John P. Turner, member of the board of education, Philadelphia.

May: Charleston chapter of West Virginia State College Alumni Association.



The Akron, O., branch passed its quota of memberships this year aided by the workers shown above. Top left, Tom Fletcher, chairman of the campaign, and Dr. J. W. Dunbar, treasurer. In the group picture below, front row, left to right, Mrs. Ida Rae Simpson, Miss Louise Riley and Mrs. Cleo Dolphin. Back row: Hosea Lindsey, branch president; Mrs. Elsie Smith, Miss Sue Lyles, Mrs. Alice Lindsey, Miss Sega Fleming, branch secretary; and Samuel R. Shepard, campaign secretary. Captains not shown are Mrs. Sadie Davis, Samuel T. Kelly and Eddie Walker

Emancipation day was celebrated by the **Waterloo, Iowa,** chapter on August 2 at Electric Park. Emancipation day in that section of the country is August 4, but the celebration was advanced two days for local convenience.

The youth council of the **Port Huron, Mich.,** branch had charge of the program August 13 in the series of meetings dedicating McKanlass House, a community recreation center in the city.

The **Pine Bluff, Ark.,** branch met July 7 and heard reports from delegates to the Detroit conference. Music was furnished by the Arkansas state college glee club directed by David Mells and B. B. Lewis. The speaker of the evening was Miss Frances Saunders, of Nashville, Tenn., a teacher at the summer school of the college. W. B. Cloman is president of the branch and A. M. Parker, secretary.

Dr. E. E. Fennell was the principal speaker at the meeting of the **Lynchburg, Va.,** branch, August 10.

The **Bridgeport, Conn.,** branch held an open air meeting on the lawn of the Walters Memorial A.M.E. Zion church, August 12.

The **Pueblo, Colorado,** branch held its annual picnic August 1. Among the speakers were Miss Laura Fife, Romeo Winston, and Miss Gracie Lee Alexander. Musical numbers were rendered by Melvin Jones, Mrs. H. A. Rogers, Miss Mary Jane Barnett, Daisy Mixon and Mrs. Helen Shields.

The **Albuquerque, N. M.,** branch has purchased a membership in the Coronado Cuarto Centennial to be held in Albuquerque in 1940.

James E. Allen, president of the New York State conference of branches and former president of the **New York City** branch, has issued an appeal to Negro citizens of New York City to unite in electing at least one Negro councilman under the new plan of City government which goes into effect January 1, 1938. The election will be held under the system of proportional representation (P.R.) which means that 75,000 votes in any one borough of the city of New York can elect a councilman. Mr. Allen points out that in the borough of Manhattan with its population of 225,000 Negroes, it ought to be possible for them to elect at least one Negro councilman.

The **Monongalia County, W. Va.,** branch has written the sheriff of the county and the mayor of Morgantown offering its aid in efforts at law enforcement and good government and suggesting action by the authorities to discourage "loafing, vagrancy, and immoral and disturbing acts" in and around Walnut street and University avenue. The branch also wrote Senators M. M. Nelly and Rush D. Holt, of West Virginia, soliciting their continued support of the anti-lynching bill.

The **Bayonne, N. J.,** branch through Dr. D. G. Morris, president, has sent to the national office the sum of $118.75 apart from membership money as a contribution toward the budget of the year over and above the apportionment of the branch. Dr. Morris writes: "We have at this time a little extra money on hand above our present need for expenses." (The national office has written to the Bayonne branch expressing its gratitude for this generous contribution and at the same time, cites the action of the Bayonne branch as an example for other branches.)

The **Columbus, O.,** branch was among the many which sent word to its senators late in July urging action on the anti-lynching bill.

The **Decatur and Bloomington-Normal, Ill.,** branches held their annual field meet July 29 at Lincoln Park in Decatur. About 600 people were present including a large number from Bloomington and visitors from other cities. There were fourteen events in the field meet which was won by Decatur, 60-41. The events included: 440 yd. relay, for girls; 100 yd. dash, senior boys; 50 yd. dash, junior boys; 75-50-and 25-yd. dashes for girls, tennis, checkers and a girls and boys soft ball game. Since this was the third successive year that Decatur has won, it secured permanent possession of the silver loving cup. The next big public entertainment of the branch is scheduled for Labor Day, September 6. A picnic with ball games and races will be held at Fairview park. Next year, the field meet will be held in Bloomington-Normal and it is hoped that other nearby places will participate.

BRANCH NEWS

Send the news from your branch regularly to THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

Picket Times Square for Anti-Lynch Bill

Swinging into a drive to mobilize public opinion behind a demand for the passage of the anti-lynching bill before the adjournment of Congress, members of the United Youth Committee Against Lynching of New York City, demonstrated before the Strand theatre, Broadway near 47th street, and throughout Times Square July 30 to August 2.

The theatre was showing the motion picture "They Won't Forget" which depicts a lynching in the deep South and is a powerful argument against lynching.

In an effort to encourage people to see the picture and to telegraph or write their senators, members of the committee carried large signs with such slogans as "See 'They Won't Forget'. See to it that Lynching Stops." "It Happens Only in the U.S.A. Stop Lynching, the Shame of America;" "Wire or Write Senators Wagner and Barkley, Washington, D.C., Pass the Anti-Lynch Bill Before Senate Adjourns." Other members distributed twenty thousand handbills to the movie and dance crowds.

The Broadway crowd reacted in many ways. The majority of those coming out of the theatre declared that it was a good idea and promised to write their senators immediately. A few berated the sign carriers and handbill distributors, stating that it was a racket, and wanted to know who was paying off the young people.

A number of southern whites who were given handbills, after reading them, either tore them into bits in a rage, or started arguments with distributors. Some of the southerners seemed to feel that the anti-lynching bill is a personal affront to them.

Some Negroes Resentful

A number of the people who had been reached by members of the committee in other parts of the Broadway section, on reaching the Strand theatre area, took out of their pockets or pocketbooks folded handbills to show distributors they already had them.

About half the colored people who passed would not accept handbills. One couple demanded of the distributors "Why in the devil do you bring this down on Broadway. It's bad enough to do it up in Harlem."

In general, the committee was gratified to see gay movie and dance crowds stop to figure out what the signs or handbills said, and then start discussing lynching. The issue of the anti-lynching bill was put squarely in the thinking of many people who had been unreached.

The United Youth Committee Against Lynching is composed of 180 Negro and white youth organizations in New York City. It is sponsored by the Youth Council of the N.A.A.C.P. The Committee has raised $138 from the sale of anti-lynching buttons, contributed $50 to the anti-lynching fund of the association, has sponsored two city-wide mass meetings to organize public opinion and has exerted pressure on congressmen and senators through a periodic flood of telegrams, postal cards and letters on Washington.

Postcards Sent

Under the direction of the committee, one thousand citizens of New York City signed postal cards and sent them (500 each) to Senators Robert F. Wagner and Alben W. Barkley, Washington, D.C., during the anti-lynching drive, July 30-August 2.

The cards, which were mimeographed and addressed by the Committee, urged the senators to use every effort to get the federal anti-lynching bill out on the floor of the Senate for a vote before adjournment.

Letters were also sent to New York ministers urging them to have their churches send telegrams Sunday, August 1 and to request individual members to write and wire senators.

Boston Sends Letters

One hundred letters written by Boston citizens were sent under the direction of the Boston youth council of the N.A.A.C.P., to Senators David I. Walsh and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., urging the passage of the federal anti-lynching bill before the adjournment of the Senate.

Boston Seeks Jobs in Movie Theatres

The Boston youth council of the association in an active summer program is in the midst of a drive on those business enterprises operating in Negro neighborhoods which refuse to employ Negro help. The campaign is the result of a survey recently undertaken by the Education Committee under the direction of Mrs. Edith Washington.

Under the guidance of Charles Quick

Members of the New York Youth Council Picketing in Times Square

and Seaton Manning a delegation of three youth council members called upon N. Levin, manager of the Dudley theatre, one of a chain of M. & P. theatres, to request the employment of Negroes as ushers and cashiers. Mr. Levin stated that there are at present five ushers, all white, employed by the theatre, and that the employment of a Negro usher would spoil "the uniform appearance" of his organization.

The delegation saw other M. & P. theatres in Italian and Jewish neighborhoods and found that they hired Italian and Jewish ushers and cashiers. The manager of one of the theatres in the Jewish district testified that although his theatre is one of a city-wide chain, he, as well as the other managers, had the sole right of hiring and firing, and that with the exception of the motion picture operators who are unionized, he took his help from among the predominant racial groups represented in his community.

The committee concluded that there is nothing preventing the Dudley theatre from hiring Negroes except a definite policy of exclusion. In Jewish neighborhoods, Jews are hired; in Italian neighborhoods, Italians are hired; but in a Negro community, Negroes are not given a chance.

The council will consult with the head of the chain theatres. Should this effort fail, a boycott will be launched until the theatre changes its policy.

Boston youth leaders are also making active preparation for their fall program. During the membership campaign in April a speakers' bureau under the chairmanship of Reynold Costa proved so successful that it was made a permanent part of the organization. There are thirty young men and women on this bureau who are able, even at short notice, to cover churches, clubs, and organizations, white or colored, and speak in behalf of the N.A.A.C.P.

Mr. Costa is negotiating for a fifteen-week free time radio broadcast on Station WORL to discuss problems of Negro youth. An interchange of speakers with white groups, and a series of quarterly mass meetings in colored churches will complete the program of the speakers' bureau.

A drive to reach the young people within the age limit of the council will get under way in the fall, under the leadership of Miss Myrtle G. Campbell, chairman of the organization committee. Miss Campbell, one of the delegates to the Detroit conference, is making an effort to establish two junior youth councils in Boston, as well as youth councils in the cities surrounding Boston.

The council will print additional copies of the Civil Rights law of Massachusetts (which imposes a $500 fine for discrimination) and circulate them to all hotels, restaurants and clubs in Boston and vicinity. Letters of explanation will accompany the copies.

Calendar of Youth Activities for 1937-38

The calendar of national youth activities of the Association for 1937–1938 is as follows:

September-October: Opening of fall activities; membership drives; strengthening of physical organization; planning local fall program; appointment of The Crisis committees; study groups on history, aims and program of the N.A.A.C.P.

November 10: Nationwide series of youth mass meetings against educational inequalities for Negro youth; nation-wide radio broacast. *Note:* These activities occur on the day designated for a discussion of "Our American Youth Problem," during American Education Week, November 7–13 which is annually sponsored by the National Education Association.

December: N.A.A.C.P. Christmas Seal Sale; special youth number of THE CRISIS, December issue.

February 12: Second national youth demonstration against lynching; observance of Negro History Week.

March: Beginning of spring membership campaigns.

April: Observance of Vocational Opportunity Week.

May-June: Completion of financial apportionments; preparation for and attendance at the 29th annual conference Columbus, Ohio, June, 1938.

This year greater emphasis will be placed upon the thorough study and learning of the history, aims, program and current activities of the association.

Throughout the year youth councils and college chapters will raise funds for the general work of the N.A.A.C.P., the legal defense cases of the association, the national educational program of the association, the Scottsboro case, and the local legal defense activities of the senior branches.

Undergirding these national activities, each youth council and college chapter will sponsor a strong, well coordinated local youth program meeting local youth needs. All national activities will be observed, with local emphasis, and dovetailed with local activities. For example, at the educational mass meetings in November, local school inequalities will be emphasized, as well as national inequalities and surveys of the school conditions which face Negro young people in local cities, towns, counties, and states will be emphasized.

Each youth council and college chapter is asked this year to select some specific social action project around a major local youth need which will be followed through. For example, the Boston youth council has selected as their major local project a drive to open up avenues of employment for Boston youth in stores in Negro neighborhoods.

The Johnstown youth council is making an effort to restore Negro caddies to their employment at adequate wage levels in Johnstown golf clubs.

The North End Detroit Youth Council's major local project for the fall is an organized effort to secure adequate recreational opportunities for Negro children in the North End.

Senior branches will be asked to appoint senior committees to cooperate with youth committees in carrying through the program activities.

Through the nationally coordinated youth program of the association it is hoped that an ever deepening sense of solidarity will be developed between youth members and a relationship of mutual respect and genuine cooperation will be fostered between youth and adult members.

Dark Woman in the Shabby Dress

By BETTIE SALE

My skin is white, my hair is pale,
My nose and lips are of a mould
That leaves no doubt the lovely, frail
White darlings of white men were wed
And brought to legal marriage bed
Far down an ancient line.
No shameful stain, nor colored strain
Tinctures this blood of mine.

Yet, once, close by the subway's gates
I saw my Great-Aunt's face,
Done in a sepia likeness—
The brow, the eyes, the grace
Of lifted chin; and though I grant
It was not vain or arrogant
It had familiar traits.

Dark woman in the shabby dress,
Were you blood-kin to me? . . .
(They say my Great-Aunt Lucy Belle
Was like her Pa who went to hell
In eighteen-seventy-three.
They say he was a reckless man,
And worse than that, a ruthless man;
So can it be a dark brown clan
Shares, through him, my ancestry?

And do my kinsfolk scarcely thrive,
And are their children cold?
And was my cousin lynched last week?
And were his grandsires sold?—
Does more than humane sympathy
Draw warm, dark people close to me?)

—From a poetry sequence entitled, "Thoughts in a Negro Quarter."

Book Review

Catholic Doctrine and Race Friction

INTERRACIAL JUSTICE by John La Farge. 226 pp. New York. America Press. $2.

In a compact little volume, which might be censured mainly on the grounds of brevity, a Jesuit priest discusses the American race problem in the light of Catholic doctrine. Writing primarily for the enlightenment of members of his own faith, the author rises above parochial and sectarian interest. His point of view is catholic as well as Catholic. He has produced a timely and important contribution to the literature of sanity on the race problem.

Father La Farge is first and foremost a priest, a spiritual guide and counsellor. But he knows what it is all about in the science of sociology, reminding one of that other priest, Mendel, fussing over his sweet peas, who knew his biology so well that his name is bracketed with Darwin's. One has to read only a few pages of Interracial Justice to discover that the author is a scientist as well as a Churchman.

Race prejudice, or, in Father La Farge's terminology, interracial injustice, reveals itself to the bulk of Negroes in the form of innumerable facts of discrimination. Violation of political and civil rights. Taxation without representation. Residence restricted to neglected and unhealthful sections of urban communitites. Bad schools and short school years for Negro children. Insecurity of person and property. Inconvenience in travel. Separate and filthy railroad coaches. Wheel seats in buses. The worst seats or no seats in theaters. Restriction of economic and cultural opportunity. That is race prejudice in practice.

There is a philosophy of race prejudice too. It postulates that since the white race, especially its blond minority, is superior in intellect and talent for leadership, the subjection of all other races is natural and just, The ideal solution of the race problem is to freeze the races in their present relative positions. Any effort to level the races is unwise and anti-social, leading to unrest doomed to frustration. Nature has graded the races, giving each its proper place and function. Somebody must hew wood, draw water, pick cotton and work on the levee. That's why darkeys were born.

This, of course, is nothing more nor less than intellectual lynch law. The Ku Klux Klan, Black Legion, Scottsboro, stepped up from action to dialectic. Propagated by scholastic zealots with a highly persuasive gift of gab, the dogma of white supremacy has colored both public policy and private thinking on race relations for half a century. It is the citadel of race prejudice, prejudice exalted to the dignity of science. It leads many people, naturally disposed to fair dealing, to conclude that, since the darker races are intrinsically inferior human stock, interracial justice ends with making discrimination and exploitation as humane as possible.

The natural hegemony of the white race is presented by its sponsors as hard science. Father La Farge refuses to take it for granted. Gently but firmly, he insists on assaying its scientific validity. Without mentioning Gobineau, Max Nordau, Madison Grant or Lathrop Stoddard, or any of their ilk by name, he hauls their postulates out in the open and goes to work on them. His method is that of the trial lawyer presenting rebuttal witnesses. He demonstrates that what the proponents of Aryan supremacy advance as scientific fact is at best a shadowy theory. Even the concept of race, he shows, is not science but myth.

Father La Farge turns from his secular authorities to the savants of his faith. His chapters on the Catholic doctrine of human rights are an epochal contribution to the literature of race relations. In those chapters he moves the race problem from the field of science to the realm of morality. God created all men equal says Catholic doctrine. Deliberate discrimination is a sin against God.

The proposition that race relations are essentially a moral problem is in line with advanced thought. Years ago a modern prophet, George Bernard Shaw, declared that nothing can make men change their ways for the better except conviction of sin. There was a time when men wanted to do right but did not have the means. Human problems were problems for the laboratory. Now we have the means to do right and know how to use them. Our problems have shifted from the field of science back to the domain of morality. Achieving equitable race relations, Father La Farge asserts, is not exclusively a job for social workers and politicians. Religion must see to it that race problems are not merely adjusted, but solved. To secure a just solution is a paramount duty of Catholic action.

When I first opened Interracial Justice, I immediately turned to the chapter on social equality and intermarriage. So many champions of race equity talk bravely enough on the plane of ideas and abstract principles but become vague, confused and halting when they descend to the level of actual race association. Father La Farge handles this ticklish subject with the salty common sense of a peasant or a dock-worker. The offspring of interracial unions, say the race purists, is inferior to both parent stocks. Intermarriage is biological degradation.

Suppose race mixing *is* undesirable, Father La Farge replies. This is no argument against intermarriage. There is such a thing as illicit intercourse. Children can be born without benefit of a marriage license. Since race mixing is inevitable, it might as well happen within the sanctity of the marriage bond.

That will not impress intransigent race purists. Nothing will please them except races hermetically sealed to prevent sex contact. But Father La Farge's pragmatic logic should appeal to sociologists trying to get somewhere in race relations.

In sections of his book the author deals with material with which Negroes have long been familiar. Other passages are of more direct interest to Catholics than to Negroes. But there is no let down in the logical unity of the book. He sifts and culls the facts of race relations and interprets them in the light of Christian morality.

The book concludes with an invaluable bibliography and a generous budget of notes. Students of the race problem, especially Catholic students, should find them helpful and interesting. Ungraciously, perhaps, I end on a sour note. The book has one serious flaw. Its brevity and the author's modest style may cause some readers to underrate its importance as a social document.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Horse Owner

(*Continued from page 266*)

the 2:20 pace at the Blue Grass Fair, Lexington, Kentucky. He carried the Hensley colors first under the wire in many hard fought contests, and when he was defeated, he forced the winner to pace extremely fast miles. At sixteen years, in 1921, he paced a trail on a half-mile track in 2:10½. *Lucile Brooks 2:09* and *Pete 2:08¼* passed to the ownership of other horsemen and proved good race horses wherever they performed.

Farmer and Business Man

Mr. Hensley's "Yellow Rose Farm," located just outside the city limits of Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, was one of the best tracts of land in that section of the state. His residence was a well constructed frame house of two stories. It was built near the roadway and was surrounded by a beautiful grassy lawn. To the north and west of the house were splendid vegetable gardens. The horse barns were substantial structures, as were all other buildings on the place. Corn and tobacco were the principal crops grown.

Hensley bred and raised hogs and sought always to mature them quickly. Giving particular attention to improv-

EXPLANATIONS

The figure 2:02, after the name of a horse, means the horse has a record for the mile of two minutes and two seconds. *Miss Stokes 2:08¾* means that the mare named Miss Stokes trotted a mile in two minutes and eight and three-fourths seconds. Many trotters and pacers have records for the mile better than two minutes. The stallion, *Protector,* as a three year old, obtained a mark for the mile of one minute and fifty-nine and one-fourth seconds. The champion trotter is *Peter Manning,* whose record for the mile is one minute and fifty-six and three-quarter seconds.

In harness horse racing, to win a race, a horse must be the first under the wire, after going a mile, in two heats, which are raced several minutes apart. After each heat, horses are cooled out. The race goes on until some one horse wins two heats. In the late nineties and the early nineteen hundreds, the winner of a race had to beat his opponents three heats.

ing the quality of pork meat, in addition to green pasture products, he fed his hogs skimmed milk, with occasional messes of ground corn. He owned a small herd of Jersey cows, and made a specialty of selling cream. He was the most successful Negro breeder and owner of fast harness horses that has yet appeared. He knew the winning blood lines and combinations, and he bought only mares of excellent breeding to mate with his stallions. His grocery and restaurant called for much of his time, but he spent several hours each day at his barns with his favorite horses. For several years he was President of the Montgomery County Colored Fair Association, and under his leadership annual exhibitions of live stock and farm and home products were held which attracted attention throughout the South.

A man of sound sense, industrious, thrifty, farsighted and practical, Peter L. Hensley managed his affairs wisely, and his accumulations grew steadily as the years passed. His grocery and restaurant business was conducted on a high plane, and more than half of his customers were white. He was respected by all classes and conditions of both races. He died of heart trouble, after a brief illness, September 18, 1926. His estate was valued at between $45,000 and $55,000. He might have amassed a fortune, but he was the main support of his parents, three sisters and a younger brother for years, and his charities outside of his family were many. He was a keen and clever sportsman, a true and loyal friend, an excellent and courteous gentleman, and a shrewd and progressive business man.

Democracy

(*Continued from page 276*)

but of those of his race who had made their contributions to our country's literature. Such an interpretation of one of the racial groups in our Democracy is bound to develop understanding. What does the melting pot need more than that?

Perhaps most challenging of all was Dr. Pickens' exposition of the Negro as an American citizen who has contributed greatly to the building of the United States and to the fighting of its battles. Here he commented vividly and amazingly on the matter of the writing of history, and revealed with delightful humor the prejudices with which it is written. The audience was surprised at its ability to laugh at itself, and at the tolerance of other nations it felt as a result of this lecture. Here again was demonstrated the real purpose of the forum.

Readers of this magazine are interested in the development of tolerance and understanding. No movement could do more to accomplish this than the free adult public forum movement; and no leader could do more than Dr. Pickens or any other person who can be as objective as he and as sincere and friendly to his audience. We hope that it will be possible to continue this public forum program with the assistance of federal funds until the local boards of education realize its value and incorporate it into their programs of adult education. In such a manner will it be possible to put into effect the desire of so many Americans so aptly expressed by Dr. Studebaker: it will be possible to "make Democracy work."

Figures

(*Continued from page 267*)

fairy godmother comes along."

It is one thing to make a census of the United States but quite another to translate the mountains of information collected so that the corporation lawyer, the small business man, the school teacher and the average citizen can understand and so that each interested party may find just exactly what he wants. And here is where Mr. Hall comes in. He has made, and is making, the census facts on the Negro available to everybody. In addition, every year, he makes studies of vital statistics and surveys of one enterprise or another, keeping Uncle Sam informed in a way he could not be if he had to wait for the general census which takes place only every ten years.

Numerous Studies Published

Some of Mr. Hall's recent published studies include "Negroes in the United States, 1920–32," "Retail Stores Operated by Negro Proprietors in New York City," "Colored and White Deaths in Selected Cities, 1930 and 1931," "The Negro Farmer in the United States," "Persons in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories," "Negro Population of Fifty Cities," and a number of specialties for the recent Texas Centennial. Undoubtedly, he will have a hand in putting out some special studies for the "World's Fair of 1939" in New York City, and when a new religious census of the United States is made, he will direct the work among Negroes. Requests for figures on the religious and church activities of Negroes are among the most numerous reaching Mr. Hall.

Charles E. Hall was born in Batavia, Ill., and was schooled there and at Wilberforce university. His father was the Rev. Abraham T. Hall who was born in Miflin county, Pennsylvania, and was one of the founders of the internationally famous Quinn Chapel A.M.E. church of Chicago. His mother was Joanna Stewart of Fayetteville, N. C. Treasured by Mr. Hall are a collection of records of his ancestry dating from 1820, and just as treasured are mementoes and memories which he has from his early years when he was in the real estate and loan business in Spokane, Washington; when he was employed on the New York Central and later ran on trains with men like Richard B. Harrison, "De Lawd" of The Green Pastures, Judge W. C. Hueston of the Elks, and James A. "Billboard" Jackson, of Standard Oil Company; when he was an assistant sergeant-at-arms at the Republican Convention of 1900, and when he was assistant managing editor of the Illinois Record, of Springfield. He puts nothing, however, above his thirty-seven years, from clerk to senior specialist, in the U. S. Census Bureau.

LETTERS from READERS

Scores Article on Religion

To the Editor of The Crisis:—Please allow me space in your magazine to reply to the article written by Mr. Harold E. Boysaw in the current July number of The Crisis on "Does Youth Need Religion?"

Anyone reading the article would know that a novice did the job. It is a pity that so many of our young people rush into print before thev have anything worthwhile to say. With a very few exceptions, the whole article is a bundle of contradictions and misstatements. If he had tried with all his might to write something that would put him in a bad light with the reading public, he could not have succeeded better.

To read such a statement as this: "In the opinion of the younger generation the church fails to make contact with the realities of modern life." If this is not glorified ignorance I should like for one to tell me what is. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ has about 40,000,000 people under its leadership who are fighting daily for all that this young man says the church fails to contact. If he had enquired of someone who knew about the recent statistics relative to the growth of the churches in America during 1936, he would not have written these words: "Today it seems as though the world is severing relations with religion and has no need for it." Under the heading "The failure of the Church," this young man seems to speak with authority about so many phases of church activities that a smile is provoked when one knows the facts in the case. I

am certain it will be information to those who keep abreast of the times to learn that "the privileged classes form most of the constituency of the church."

In speaking of the government preparation for war he says: "All this going on while the church sits complacently by giving its silent approval." What wisdom! What information for the world! We give him credit for believing that youth needs religion; but when he defines the religion youth needs, we are forced to ask, what faith, what ideal, is youth to have and worship? By this declaration the young man would substitute worship of some kind of an ideal for worship of God. He wants a religion without God and without Christ; for I do not think he mentions either name in his article.

I wish to inform this young man that the earth will continue to turn upon its axis, business will continue to be done at the same places; the churches will continue in its organized form for millenniums after he and the infinitesimal group he represents has returned to the dust from whence they came. An organization is as necessary for the advancement of religion as it is for business and education, and we thank God we have a religion that can be organized for effective service.

Finally, let me offer this piece of advice to this young man. Since you are dissatisfied with religion as represented by the churches of today, can you not see the greatest opportunity of your life looking you in the face? What a field for service! More than sixty per cent of our population are nonchurch members. Since you know so well what youth needs, why don't you accept this challenge and go out and guide this host into the harbor of security? Why don't you organize the youth that you are speaking for to do for the world what you say the churches are failing and have failed to do? What an opportunity is yours for constructive service to the world! Such a move on your part would be worth a million articles like the one you wrote in the July issue of THE CRISIS.

Next, write to the University of Chicago and get the "American Primer on Youth Under the Depression." It costs twenty-five cents but is worth many times its cost if you expect to write more on that subject.

ERNEST HALL

Cleveland, Ohio.

Criticizes Schuyler

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—In the April number of THE CRISIS, under the heading, "Do We Really Want Equality?" I find this statement, "Thousands nightly crowd into fetid halls to 'truck' or to be whipped into 'religious' frenzy by the antics and amphigories of evangelical exhibitionists where it is impossible to get ten to expend similar energy fighting against their pariah status."

I protest against this disparaging reference, and this insulting description of our church auditoriums, which the writer is pleased to call "fetid halls." Does he wish to insult the church members and the religiously inclined people? What would he give us in place of the "fetid halls?" Take away our religion and our churches and you take away an incentive, hope and expectancy in a better life to come. What urge, what organization will be able to influence the people to live a decent and better life as the church has always done and is still doing? Without the "fetid halls" and their owners, the N.A.A.C.P. would find its activities very much limited and its membership so small it could hardly compete in size with a corporal's guard. And I wonder if there would be an N.A.A.C.P. speaking through THE CRISIS if there were no "fetid halls" members and attendants that support THE CRISIS?

GEORGE BROWN

Cleveland, Ohio

Editor's Note: THE CRISIS is disturbed over the tone of the latter part of Mr. Brown's letter because it reveals that the writer would have THE CRISIS restrict its material to that which agrees with the N.A.A.C.P. and pleases all its members. THE CRISIS has always striven to be a magazine in which any writer with an interesting and constructive opinion on the race problem could find expression. We do not believe that THE CRISIS, as the oldest Negro magazine in the country, should shut off free speech and indulge in censorship of ideas. We must have the freest discussion and criticism of all aspects of racial and interracial life if we are to have progress. Incidentally, the article by Mr. Schuyler, "Do We Really Want Equality?" was one of the most widely discussed and reprinted articles that has appeared in THE CRISIS in the past two years. It was even translated into French and reprinted in a Haitian magazine.

The opinion of THE CRISIS and its official position on all questions will be found as always in its editorials and all other opinions expressed in contributed articles are the opinions of the writers whose names are signed to them. Thus, our correspondents should not attempt to imply that the opinions of writers expressed in articles are the opinions of THE CRISIS or of the N.A.A.C.P.; and it does not seem very good sportsmanship to us to try to stir up resentment against the work of the N.A.A.C.P. by twisting the issue of free speech in this manner.

Adios

By GLADYS MITCHELL

For all your lilting laughter
I would not wish you back;
Your wings swept pensive madness
Across the night's white track.

For all your jungle magic
And charms that borrowed Dawn—
(The moonlight makes a misty jest
Of life when stars are gone.)

For all your sins and penances
As sharp as twilight spears,
I would not have your lips caress
A mouth tattooed with tears.

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